B. 6. 40 64 F. 51. 18

A TREATISE OF THE Situation OF PARADISE,

Written by

P. D. HUET

Bishop of SOISSONS.

To which is prefixed a Map of the adjacent Countries.

Translated from the French *Original.*

L [redacted],
Printed for *James Knapton* at the Sign of the *Crown* in St. *Paul's* Church-yard,
MDCXCIV.

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TO THE READER.

OUR first Parents, READER, were turned out of Paradise for their Disobedience: Many of their Posterity endeavour by their Disbelief of *Moses*'s Writings, to turn Paradise out of the World. To stop and correct this Humour, several Learned Books have been put in Print; and this, the last of all.

It was writ by that Excellent, and much Celebrated *Peter Daniel Huet*, now Bishop of *Soissons* in *France*. Because

the *French* Copy was ſcarce, and like to be ſo; and the Argument ſo uſeful in theſe days: It hath been judged very expedient to put it forth in *Engliſh*.

Atheiſts and Scoffers, whom the Pſalmiſt calls Peſts, uſually demand, *What's become of Paradiſe? Shew us the place in the Maps?* And if this be not done for them (they are generally lazy) with all exactneſs, butted and bounded by Longitude and Latitude; hedged in with Degrees, and Minute Meaſures; atteſted alſo by *Strabo* and *Ptolomy*; they will ſlide into a disbelief firſt of *Geneſis*, then of the whole Bible, and laſtly of all revealed Religion.

This

This great and wise Author hath pitched upon that very Method, which this sort of Men call for. He treateth the cause and question with good profane History (which they so much love) and Humane Testimony. Could the Situation of *Persepolis*, of *Solomon's Tadmor*, the course of *Virgil's Timavus* be so clearly described and set out; I suppose these Men would cease their Disputings about those Matters. In the present Controversie they are more yare. For should they acknowledge Satisfaction in this Point, they must alter, retract, and part with many other their ill grounded Perswasions. They mightily doubt the reality of

the Torments of *Hell*, because they have not yet found it proved to be *Local*. This is very difficult to prove; for should *one come from the Dead, they would not believe him.* I see no way more probable to remove their distrust, than Experiment; But who ought to be at the *Pains* and Cost of it, but they that want to be convinced? Well then; If these Men stand to their own Principles, they must henceforth allow the History of Paradise; for it is here so fully and plainly evidenced to be *Local*, as any thing can possibly be, so distant in time, and remote in Situation.

A

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THE CASPIAN SEA
ARMENIA Y GREAT
The Spring of Euphrates
Niphates M.
M. Gordiæus
The Spring of Tigris
Taurus M.
Antitaurus M.
Taurus Mt.
CILICIA
Tarsus
Adona
Issus
Amanus
THE
Cyprus
Salamine
MEDITERRANIAN SEA
Tripoli
Eden
Sidon
Tyre
CŒLESYRIA
Damascus
Paradisus
SYRIA
Ierusalem
IUDEA
ARABIA
MESOPOTAMIA
Charrha
GAUZANITIS
ASSYRIA or ADIABENE
Ninive
Mausal
TIGRIS
Selucia
Ctesiphon
Apamia
BABYLONIA
EUPHRATES Fl.
Rhesciphe
EDEN
Aracca
Talatha
ARABIA DESERTA
Toroden
MEDIA
Ecbatana
ELYMAIS
Zagros M.
Porchoatras M.
Susa
COSSEENS
CISSIA
CHUS. V. or SUSIANA. V.
CHUZESTAN. N.
Aunchtha
ELYMEENS
Charax Spasini
Oreatis
65
70
75
80
85
90
40
35

A Treatise of the Situation of the Earthly Paradise.

PREFACE.

I. *The Occasion and Argument of this Work.* II. *The manner observed in the treating of it.* III. *The Variety of Opinions about the Situation of the Earthly Paradise.* IV. *About what relateth to its Situation.* V. *And also about other things concerning Paradise, which are not of my Subject.* VI. *Mr.* Bochart, *who intended to treat this matter, did not clearly declare his Opinion.* VII. *The Situation of Paradise is no other way to be discovered, but by the words of* Moses.

I. I HAVE not forgotten, as you see, Gentlemen, what I promised you some time since, to write this Treatise. I made you that promise when many of us being met toge-

The Occasion and Argument of this Work.

together, before the hour appointed for our Academical Exercises, there was some talk about the Situation of the Earthly Paradise, occasioned by a Bible that lay open upon the Table at the second Chapter of *Genesis*. I told you at that time my opinion concerning it; and as you were asking me the Proofs of what I suggested, and I was ready to give them, the Clock struck, and broke off our discourse; you only told me when we parted, that I should not come off so: And I answered, That I very willingly did take upon me that Debt, and should clear it one time or other. I do it now, Gentlemen, and I'll endeavour that it may be in good coin. But to confess the truth in this, I do not so much perform my Promise, as I follow my Inclination. And, as I have had the honour for many years of being a Member of your Society, and having been received amongst you in so favourable a manner, I am very glad to give you publickly this mark of my Thankfulness, and to shew the World that I glory in the title of being with you a Member of the Academy. But above all I most passionately desire to express the great Veneration I have for a Society so famous for the Vertue,

Honour,

Honour, Politeneſs, great Parts and great Learning of its Members; and more to be valued for thoſe Qualities, which put it far out of the reach of Detraction and Envy, than for the eminent Dignities of moſt of the Members of it.

II. But yet, Gentlemen, don't expect here an Elegancy of Speech, nor Fineneſs of Thoughts: You muſt, on the contrary, prepare your ſelves to a dry Reading, to a thorny Inquiry, to the Tediouſneſs of Citations, and to hear ſome Greek and Hebrew Words. A matter as dark as this is, cannot be made clear but by theſe helps: I call it dark, for altho' the Wit and Learning of the Fathers of the Church, of the Interpreters of Holy Scripture, and of all ſorts of learned Men, hath been more employed about this matter than any other; and altho' it hath produced an infinite number of Books, yet there is hardly any certainty in it. Their number will render my attempt excuſable, and if I do not ſucceed, their example will merit pardon. *The manner obſerved in the treating of it.*

III. Nothing will ſhew more evidently, how little the Situation of the Earthly Paradiſe is known, than the variety of Opinions of thoſe who inquired about it. They placed it in the *Variety of Opinions about its Situation.*

third Heaven, in the fourth, in the Orb of the Moon, in the Moon it ſelf, upon a Mount near the Orb of the Moon, in the middle Region of the Air, out of the Earth, upon the Earth, under the Earth, in a hidden place and far beyond the Knowledge of Men. They placed it under the artick Pole, in *Tartaria*, in the place where now is the *Caſpian* Sea. Others have placed it as far as the extremity of the South, in the Land of Fire. Many will have it to be in the Eaſt, either along the ſides of the River *Ganges*, or in the Iſle of *Ceilan*, deriving alſo the name of *Indies* from the word *Eden*, which is the name of the Province where Paradiſe ſtood. They have placed it in *China*, and beyond the Eaſt alſo, in a place uninhabited. Others in *America*, others in *Africa* under the *Æquator*, others in the Æquinoctial-Eaſt, others upon the Mountains of the Moon, from which they thought the *Nile* ſprung. The greateſt part in *Aſia*, ſome in the great *Armenia*, others in *Meſopotamia*, or in *Aſſyria*, or in *Perſia*, or in *Babylonia*, or in *Arabia*, or in *Syria*, or in *Palæſtina*. Some alſo would have honoured with it our *Europe*, and which is beyond the greateſt Impertinency, placed it at *Hedin* a City in *Artois*, upon

no

no other ground than the Affinity of that name with the word *Eden*. I do not despair, but some Adventurer, to have it nearer to us, will one day undertake to place it at *Houdan*.

Concerning such things as have relation to its Situation.

IV. This variety of opinions is not only about the Situation of Paradise, but also about those things which have any relation to it. The *Phison*, which was one of the branches of the River that did water it, many think to be the *Ganges*, others the *Nile*, the *Hyphasis*, the *Cyrus*, the *Danube* also; and in fine, the eastern Channel, through which the *Tigris* and *Euphrates* being joined discharge themselves into the *Persian* Gulf. They will have the Country of *Chavilah*, through which this River passes, to be the *Indies*; they will have it to be the *Susiana*; some a part of *Arabia*. They are divided about the *Bdellium* which is to be found there, and they do not know, whether it is an aromatical Gum, or a precious Stone, or Pearls. They are no less divided about the Onyx, being uncertain whether it is really the Onyx, or the Sardonyx, or the Beryl, or the Carbuncle, or the Crystal. The *Gebon*, which was another branch of the same River that sprung out of Paradise, is the *Nile*, according to the most com-

mon opinion; others will have it to be the *Gehon*, a Brook near *Jeruſalem*, which the Scripture calls in other places *Siloe*; others affirm that it is the *Araxus*; and ſome more clear-ſighted, but yet not enough, will have it to be the weſtern mouth of the *Tigris* joyned with the *Euphrates*. All do not agree that the Province which the *Gehon* croſſes, called *Chus* in the Hebrew Text, and *Æthiopia* in the vulgar Tranſlation, be *Æthiopia* in *Africa*, ſome being of opinion it is that other in *Arabia*.

And alſo about other things concerning Paradiſe, which are not of my ſubject. Aug. de Gen ad Lit. l 8. c. 1. & de Civit. D. l. 13. c. 21. Hier. quæſt. Heb. in Gen. 4 Eſd. 3. 6.

V. I paſs over many other queſtions, which are treated of in the Books of Divines, and even of the Fathers, as that which is propoſed by St. *Auſtin*, *viz.* Whether Paradiſe be Spiritual or Material, or both together? As this other, *viz.* Whether it was created before the World, as St. *Jerom* ſeems to believe with the ancient Hebrews, and the Author of the fourth Book of *Eſdras*; or, Whether it was created on the third day with the Plants of the Earth, or whether it was created in the order obſerved by *Moſes* in ſpeaking of it. Such alſo as theſe are, *viz.* What was its extent, which ſome Interpreters have as boldly determined, as if they had meaſured it; ſome making it equal

equal to that of the whole East; others to that of *Asia* and *Africa* together; some to that of the whole Earth; and the Talmudists, who set no bounds to their own Extravagancies, making it threescore times larger. Whether there were any living Creatures in it, which some have denied, forgetting the Serpent who seduced our first Parents, and even not admitting in it the Bird of Paradise? Whether it be still in being? Whether *Enoch*, *Elias* and St. *John* the Evangelist have been carried thither alive, as into a place of Refuge against Death, to continue there until the end of the World? All these Questions do not belong to my subject, and I only intend to inquire into the Situation of Paradise.

VI. Of late Mr. *Bochart*, whom I look upon to have been one of the most learned Men of his Age, did intend to treat of this matter. This he declares in some places of his Writings, and he speaks of it, as if the work had been already finished, and as if his *Phaleg* had been but a sequel of it. Yet I heard from one of his Relations, that after his Death they found nothing amongst his Papers, but a very imperfect draught of his design, which

Mr. Bochart *who intended to treat of this matter, did not clearly declare his opinion.*

even doth not declare what opinion he was of. It were to be wiſhed that he had performed his Enterprize. No body was more capable to do it than he, by reaſon of the underſtanding he had of the letter of Holy Scripture, which he got by a very long Study, by reaſon of his great skill in the Oriental Tongues, and by reaſon of his being ſo well verſed in the Prophane Authors. He hath a little declared his mind upon this queſtion in ſome places of his Works, but ſo variouſly that he ſeems to contradict himſelf, for in his *Phaleg* he places Paradiſe about *Babylon*; and in his Book *of the Animals mentioned in Holy Scripture*, he ſeems to be almoſt of the opinion of *Calvin*, who placed it upon the ſides of the *Tigris* and *Euphrates* joyned together; in *Chaldæa*, between the City of *Apamea* and the *Perſian* Gulf. However being long uncertain whether the Relations of Mr. *Bochart* would find at laſt in his Cloſet that work perfected, as he had inſinuated, I ſtill deferred to collect my Obſervations: But ſeeing that after four and twenty years, which is the time that this learned Man hath been dead, no body gives us hopes of any ſuch work, I'll try to give ſome light to this matter.

Boch Phal. l. 1. c. 4. Hieroz. part. 2. l. 5. c. 5.

VII. But

VII. But becauſe the only thing we may rely upon, are the words which *Moſes* makes uſe of in deſcribing the Situation of the Earthly Paradiſe, we muſt firſt of all recite them to you, tranſlating them word for word out of the Original.

The Situation of Paradiſe is no other way to be diſcovered, but by the words of Moſes.

Chap. I.

The Text of *Moſes*, and a Summary Expoſition of our Opinion.

I. *The Text of* Moſes, *where the Situation of Paradiſe is deſcribed.* II. *The Opinions aforementioned do not agree with the words of* Moſes, *who deſcribes it exactly.* III. *No other Opinion but ours can agree with it.* IV. *A brief Expoſition of our Opinion.* V. *No other Opinion comes ſo near to ours, as that of* Calvin *and* Scaliger.

The Text of *Moſes*, where the Situation of Paradiſe is deſcribed.

I. *Geneſis* Chap. II. v. 8. *And the Lord God planted a garden eaſtward in* Eden, *and there he put the man whom he had formed.*

V. 9. *And out of the ground made the Lord God to grow every tree that is pleaſant to the ſight, and good for food: the tree of life alſo in the midſt of the garden, and the tree of knowledge of good and evil.*

V. 10.

V. 10. *And a river went out of* Eden *to water the garden, and from thence it was parted, and became into four heads.*

V. 11. *The name of the first is* Phison: *that is it which compasses the whole land of* Chavilah, *where there is gold.*

V. 12. *And the gold of that land is good: there is Bdellium and the Onyx-stone.*

V. 13. *And the name of the second river is* Gehon: *the same is it that compasseth the whole land of* Chus.

V. 14. *And the name of the third river is* Chiddekel: *that is it which goeth toward* Assyria. *And the fourth river is* Euphrates.

V. 15. *And the Lord God took the man, and put him into the garden of* Eden, *to dress it and to keep it.*

II. The Situation of the Earthly Paradise seems to me so exactly determined by these words, that I very often wondred at the Interpreters shutting their eyes at it, to give way to so many frivolous Conjectures, who have so little relation to it; for if you ask for example those who place it in *Syria* near *Damascus*, where be those four Rivers, and those Regions of *Chavilah* and *Chus*, they let you stay without any answer at all. If you ask those, who will have it to be in *Mesopotamia*, or in *Babylonia*, above the place where the *Tigris* and *Euphrates* joyn together, where

The Opinions aforementioned do not agree with the words of Moses, who describes it exactly.

where may then be the Countries of *Chavilah* and *Chus*, they are forced to ſet them in ſuch places as contradict the Teſtimony of all Antiquity. If one objects to thoſe who fanſied that the *Nile* was the *Gehon*, and the *Ganges* the *Phiſon*, the diſtance of their Springs, and thoſe of the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*: They defend themſelves by Miracles, or by Fictions, giving out what they think may be, inſtead of what is, and affirm, without any proof, that the Spring of thoſe four Rivers was really in Paradiſe; but that after having watered that delightful place, they dived into the Earth, and went to look for ſome other Sources, towards the end of the World, through ſome ſubterraneous Canals. Thus humane minds go aſtray, when once they ſwerve from Truth.

No other Opinion but ours can agree with it.

III. But I will not loſe time in refuting particularly all theſe Opinions; it will be ſufficient to propoſe my own, and to ſhew not only that it perfectly agrees with *Moſes*'s deſcription and the ancient Geography, but alſo that it is the only one which anſwers to it, and that whoſoever will look for another, will fall into inſuperable Difficulties.

A brief Expoſition of our Opinion.

IV. I ſay then that the Earthly Paradiſe was ſituated upon the Canal which the *Tigris* and *Euphrates* joyned together

do

do make, between the place of their coming together, and that of their going one from another, before they fall into the *Perſian* Gulf. And becauſe this Canal made ſome turnings or windings; I ſay, to ſpeak more preciſely of it, that Paradiſe was ſituated upon one of thoſe turnings, and likely upon the Southern Branch of the biggeſt, which hath been marked by *Agathodæmon* in the Geographical Tables of *Ptolomy*, when that River comes Eaſtward again, after having made a long turning towards the Weſt, about 32 Degrees 39 minutes Northern Latitude, and 80 Degrees 10 minutes Longitude, according to the Delineation of *Agathodæmon*, very near the place where he ſets *Aracca*, which is *Erec* in Scripture. Now my deſign is not to examine whether the Poſition of *Ptolomy* be right, it ſuffices me to have delivered my opinion. I add to it, that the four heads of this River are the *Tigris* and *Euphrates* before their coming together, and the two Channels that carry it into the Sea after it has divided it ſelf; that the more Weſtern of theſe two Channels is the *Phiſon*, that the Country of *Chavilah*, through which it goeth, is part of *Arabia Felix*, and part of *Arabia Deſerta*;

ſerta; that the *Gebon* is the Eaſtern Channel of the two aforementioned, and that the Country of *Chus* is *Suſiana*.

No other Opinion comes ſo near to ours as that of Calvin *and* Scaliger.

Calvin. in Gen. c. 2. Scalig. de emend. temp. l. 5. & epiſt. l. 4. epiſt. 441.

V. Of all thoſe that inquired into this matter, none is come nearer to the opinion I propoſe, than *John Calvin* in his Commentaries upon *Geneſis*. *Joſeph Scaliger* followed him cloſe, and after him the Divines of *Lovain*, and afterwards a great many others; but they took no notice of that Meridional Branch of the great turning of the River, tho' the words of *Moſes* expreſly require it, as I ſhall ſhew. They have ſet the *Gebon* at the Weſt and the *Phiſon* at the Eaſt, and they conſequently diſplaced the Countries of *Chus* and *Chavilah*; all which makes their opinion and that which I maintain eſſentially different. But to confirm it with ſolid proofs, and to ſhew the perfect agreement of it with the Deſcription of *Moſes*, it is neceſſary carefully to examine his words.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

An Explanation of the eighth Verſe of the ſecond Chapter of *Geneſis.*

I. *Obſcurity and Ambiguity of this eighth Verſe.* II. *What the word* Eden *is. Many take it for an appellative name.* III. *Others think otherwiſe, but the greateſt part take it for the name of a place.* IV. *Frivolous diſtinction of the Rabbins between* עֵדֶן *marked with five Points, and* עֵדֶן *with ſix.* V. *The Prepoſition added to the word* Eden, *makes it evident that it is the name of a place.* VI. *Many places have had the name of* Eden. VII. *Situation of the Province of* Eden, *wherein Paradiſe ſtood.*

I. VErſe 8. *And the Lord God planted a garden eaſtward in* Eden, *and there he put the man whom he had formed.* Many Ambiguities render this place dark, and give occaſion to an infinite number *The Obſcurity and Ambiguity of this eighth Verſe*

number of Explications and different Opinions. Let this be ſpoken with the good leave of thoſe who maintain that Holy Scripture explains it ſelf. The Hebrews have but one Preter Tenſe to expreſs the Præterimperfect Tenſe, the Perfect, Pluſquamperfect, and the Aoriſt or Indefinite Tenſe. What I have rendred in this place by the Aoriſt, *planted*, *formed*, (as the Seventy Interpreters rendred it, ἐφύτευσεν, ἔπλασεν, and ſome others after them,) has been rendred by the Præterpluſquamperfect Tenſe by moſt of the Tranſlators, who would have their Tranſlation to agree with the opinion they had, probable enough in it ſelf, that God had planted the Earthly Paradiſe the third day of the Creation. As for me who am perſwaded, and have elſewhere ſhewed, that a Tranſlation, if true, ought to repreſent, if poſſible, even the Ambiguities of the Original; I thought I ought to keep here, that of the Hebrew, in the French.

What the word Eden *is. Many take it for an Appellative name.*

II. Verſe 8. *A garden in* Eden. Here is a new Ambiguity more conſiderable than the former. The Hebrew word *Eden* may be taken for an Appellative name, which ſignifies *Pleaſure*, *Delight*, or for the proper name of a place. *Symmachus* an ancient Interpreter of Scripture,

Scripture, cited by St. *Ferom*, *Severianus* Bishop of *Gabala*, who lived in St. *Chrysostom*'s time, and the Poet *Leonius*, have taken here this word in the first sence. *Symmachus* renders *Eden*, *a delightful Garden*, *a flourishing Garden*, confounding, as some others after him, *Eden* with Paradise. They do farther quote a *Catena Græcorum* to defend this Interpretation. Some modern Interpreters, and among others the Author of the ordinary Gloss, and the Divines of *Lovain* follow it, and they conceive this was the original of those curious Gardens which the Princes of the East caused to be made, by which they would represent the Garden of *Eden*. Such a one was that golden Garden valued at five hundred Talents, which *Aristobulus* King of the Jews presented unto *Pompey*, and which *Pompey* afterward carried in Triumph, and consecrated unto *Jupiter* in the Capitol. This Garden was called παραδεισὸς and παραδεισον which in strictness of Speech is *Eden*, *Pleasure*, and the conformity between those words *Garden of Eden* and Garden of *Adon*, may well have been the occasion of those Gardens consecrated to *Adonis*, which the *Greeks*, *Egyptians* and *Assyrians* planted in earthen

Jer. Quæst. Hebr. in Gen. Sever. hom. 5. in Hexaem.

earthen Veſſels, and in ſilver Baskets to adorn their Houſes withall, and to carry them about in their Proceſſions; tho' I am not ignorant that the Mythologiſts who by their Fictions have obſcured the truth of the Hiſtory, referr the original of the Gardens of *Adonis* to thoſe Lettuces in which *Venus* put his body newly killed.

Others think otherwiſe, but the greateſt part take it for the name of a place.

III. The Seventy Interpreters and the vulgar Tranſlation vary about the ſignification of the word *Eden*, and ſeem to approve of both ſences; that is to take it as a proper, and as an Appellative name, for the Seventy Interpreters take it for the name of a place, in this verſe which we are about to examine: But in the 15th following verſe, and in other places, they take it for an Appellative name. On the contrary, the Author of the vulgar Tranſlation in thoſe two places, and in many others takes *Eden* for an Appellative name, but in the fourth Chapter of *Geneſis* verſe 16. he takes it for the proper name of a Country. But all the other Fathers of the Church both Latin and Greek, all the Interpreters of Scripture ancient and modern, and all the Orientals do agree that *Eden* is a local

local name taken from the beauty of the place; as *Placentia* amongst the Latins; *Callichorus* and *Callicolona* amongst the Greeks; *Beauvais*, *Beaumanoir*, *Beaumesnil* amongst the *French*; *Hypsa*, *Enna*, *Talysus*, and the Elysian Fields, so called by the *Phœnicians*. This universal consent of so many learned Men, is the first proof I produce to assert that *Eden* is the name of a place.

IV. I know that some Rabbins and some Interpreters after them have refined in this, and distinguished the word עֵדֶן *Eden* marked with five Points, from עֶדֶן marked with six, pretending that when it is marked with five Points, it denotes the Earthly Paradise, and with six, other places. But besides that the Authority of the Rabbins, who have daubed and crusted over with their Points the Hebrew Text of Scripture, is not of great weight, and that I do not see that the modern Grammarians do approve of this distinction, I'll discover the falseness of it, when I shall inquire after the Situation of the Country of *Eden*.

A frivolous distinction of the Rabbins between עֵדֶן *marked with five Points, and* עֶדֶן *with six.*

V. The second proof that I make use of, to shew that *Eden* is the name of a place, is grounded upon the Hebrew Text, where it is said that God

The Preposition added to the word Eden, *makes it evident that it is the name of a place.*

God planted a Garden גַּן בְּעֵדֶן in *Eden*: The Prepoſition expreſſed by the letter ב clearly declaring, according to its principal and more natural uſe, the ſituation of the Garden in *Eden*. I know this Particle hath many uſes in Scripture, and that ſometimes it is tranſlated by the Genitive Caſe, which the Author of the vulgar Tranſlation probably followed, when he tranſlated *Paradiſum voluptatis*. But beſides that moſt of the places in which this Prepoſition is rendred by the Genitive, may be otherwiſe tranſlated; we know by other Particles and Prepoſitions that are joined with the word *Eden* in Scripture, the ſignification of this here: As in the 10th verſe of the ſecond Chapter of *Geneſis*: *And a river went out* מֵעֵדֶן *of Eden*. And in the 16th verſe of the fourth Chapter: *Cain dwelt in the land of Nod* קִדְמַת עֵדֶן *on the Eaſt of Eden*. And in *Iſaiah*: *He will make her wilderneſs* כְּעֵדֶן *like Eden*. Now as theſe places cannot be tranſlated ſo: *And a river went out of pleaſure*: *Cain dwelt on the eaſt of pleaſure*; *he will make her wilderneſs like pleaſure*: So in the place in queſtion the word *Eden* cannot be rendred by that of *Pleaſure*.

Iſa. 51. 3.

VI. My

VI. My third Proof will be the Example of many other places, which by reaſon of their Beauty were alſo called *Eden*: Such was that ſpoken of by the Prophet *Amos*, very different and far diſtant from that of *Moſes*: It was a beautiful Valley in *Syria*, ſituated betwixt *Libanon* and *Antilibanon*, whereof *Damaſcus* was the Metropolis. This Valley deſerved the Name of *Eden*, or rather of *Beth-Eden*, that is to ſay, *Houſe of Pleaſure*, by reaſon of its Fertility and Pleaſantneſs. This induced ſome to believe, That the earthly Paradiſe ſtood there; and they were the more perſwaded of it, becauſe they found in the Neighbourhood a Town called *Paradiſe*, mentioned by *Pliny* and *Ptolomy*. They ſought alſo there the place where *Adam* was created, and that where *Cain* killed his Brother, and perſwaded themſelves to have found 'em there. But all theſe Conjectures diſappear, when you go to compare 'em with the Text of *Moſes*, and all the Circumſtances that are marked in it; and when you find there neither *Phiſon*, nor *Gehon*, nor *Chavilah*, nor *Chus*. Such was *Adana*, a Town in *Cilicia*, ſo called by reaſon of the goodneſs of its Soil, and the pleaſantneſs of its Situation. Such is alſo the Vil-

Many places have had the name of Eden.

Amos 1. 5.

Plin. lib. 5. cap. 23. Ptolom. Aſiæ tab. 4.

Village of *Eden*, near *Tripoli* in *Syria* on the way which leads unto *Libanus* where some have placed the earthly Paradise. And, finally, such is that famous Port, called *Adana*, or *Aden*, so much resorted to these many Hundred Years; which for having been the most delightful place, of a very delightful Country, I mean of the *Arabia Felix*, hath been called it self *Arabia Felix*, as comprehending in it all the Beauties of that Country: Tho' besides that *Adana*, there was another in the middle of the same Country, bearing the same Name with the first, for the same Reason. It is no wonder then, that the *Arabians* who inhabited that Province, believed that Paradise was amongst 'em.

Situation of the Province of Eden where in Paradise stood.

VII. Having, as I think, clearly demonstrated, that the Name of *Eden* is the proper Name of a Place, we must now endeavour to discover its Situation, that we may know that of Paradise, which was the noblest Part of it. We read in the fourth Book of *Kings*, and in *Isaiah*, That *Sennacherib* King of *Assyria*, designing to terrifie *Ezechias*, who had rebelled against him, boasts that he had destroyed the Countries of *Gozan*, of *Haran*, of *Reseph*, and of the Children of *Eden*, who were

4 Reg 19. 2. Isa. 37. 12.

were in *Thelaſſar*. The Learned agree, that *Gozan* is the *Gauzanitis*, a Province in *Meſopotamia*; that *Haran* and *Reſeph* are *Carrhæ* and *Reſcipha*, Cities in the ſame Land of *Meſopotamia*; the firſt of which hath been famous by the overthrow of *Craſſus*; That *Eden* is the ſame Country where *Moſes* hath placed Paradiſe, and that *Theläſſar* is *Talatha*, a City in *Babylonia*, placed by *Ptolomy* upon the Canal of the *Tigris* and *Euphrates* join'd together: And when *Stephanus* the Geographer ſpeaks of a City on the *Euphrates* called *Adana*, we are almoſt ſure that he means ſome retired place of the Inhabitants of the Land of *Eden*, which took its Name from it. In the Prophecy of the Prophet *Ezekiel*, about the deſtruction of *Tyre*, when he enumerates the Nations with whom this powerful City uſed to Trade, he puts *Haran* and *Chene*, and *Eden* together. Here is again *Haran* and *Eden* joined together; which ſhews, That the ſame places are to be underſtood as in the precedent Text; that is, *Carrhæ* in *Meſopotamia*, and the Country of *Eden* mentioned by *Moſes*: And the Interpreters agree to it. Now in theſe Two places the Word עֵדֶן *Eden* is marked with Six Points; which ſhews how vain is the forementioned Ezech. 27. v. 23.

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distinction of the Rabbins betwixt עֵדֶן *Eden* marked with Five Points and עֵדֶן *Eden* marked with Six. The Land of *Eden* extended it self below, yea perhaps also above the coming together of the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, and took up a good part of that vast Country, which hath since been called *Babylonia*. At first *Babylonia* ended at the joining together of the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*. The Land which lies below that coming together as far as the *Persian* Gulf, is called *Iraque* by *Alfergnus*, commonly called *Alfragan*, by *Abulfeda*, and other *Arabian* Geographers, from the Name *Erec*, which with *Babylon* and other places, was *the beginning of the Kingdom of Nimrod*: Gen. 10. 10. These are the Words of *Moses*. *Erec* was a Town situated on the common Canal of the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*. *Babylon* was situated on the *Euphrates* above the joining of the Two Rivers. These Two Towns gave their Name to Two Provinces. *Babylonia* extended it self as far as the joining of the Rivers; and the Province of *Erec* or *Iraque* extended it self all along the common Canal of these two Rivers on the Right and the Left Hand, from their joining together to their coming into the Sea. Time hath

altered

altered theſe things. *Iraque* hath extended it ſelf to *Babylonia*, *Aſſyria* and *Media*, and gave 'em its Name; and *Babylonia* poſſeſſed it ſelf of the whole ancient Province of *Iraque*. I ſay then, that the earthly Paradiſe was ſituated in *Eden*, a part of the Province of *Babylonia*, or *Iraque*, which extended it ſelf all along the common Chanel of the Two great Rivers, near the place where was the ancient Town of *Erec*, or *Aracca*, according to the Poſition of *Ptolomy*.

Ptol. lib. 6. cap. 3 & Tab. V. Aſiæ.

Chap. III.

A Continuation of the Explanation of the Eighth Verſe.

I. *New Ambiguity of this Verſe in the Word* מִקֶּדֶם. II. Mikkedem *may ſignifie both Time and Place.* III. *We might prove it by the ancient Cuſtom of the Chriſtians, of turning their Churches Eaſtward.* IV. Moſes *makes conſtantly uſe of the Word* Mikkedem *to ſignifie a Place.* V. Moſes *meant here by the Word* Mikkedem, *that Paradiſe was ſituated in the Eaſtern Part of* Eden.

New Ambiguity of this Verſe in the Word Mikkedem.

I. VErſe 8. *Eaſtward*, the *Hebrew* Word מִקֶּדֶם *Mikkedem*, which I render by this Word *Eaſtward*, is the Cauſe of a great many new Ambiguities, and diverſity of Explanations: For as it may ſignifie both *Time* and *Place*, the Author of the Vulgar Tranſlation; who is no other here than St. *Jerom*; the *Græcian* Tranſlators, *Aquila*, *Theodotion* and *Symmachus*; the *Chal-*

Chaldaick Paraphraſts, *Onkelos*, and *Jonathan*; and the Interpreters who make open Profeſſion of following the Vulgar Tranſlation, have taken it in the firſt Sence, and rendred it, *in the beginning*. This very Tranſlation is ambiguous: for ſome underſtand it as if this Garden had been planted before the Creation of the World. The Author of the Fourth Book of *Eſdras*, *Jonathan* the Paraphraſt, and St. *Jerom* himſelf, as I told you before, are of that Opinion. Some make it only as old as the World, and the greateſt part pretend that it was planted the Third Day of the Creation. Thoſe who believe that by the Word מִקֶּדֶם *Mikkedem*, is meant a *Place*, and not *Time*, are not all of the ſame Mind: for ſome are perſwaded, that it ſignifies the extremity of the *Eaſt*; others, and thoſe more in number and of greater Learning, maintain, That the Word *Eaſt* is never given in Scripture to the Regions that are beyond the *Perſian* Gulf; but only to thoſe that lie betwixt that Gulf and *Judæa*; I mean *Arabia*, *Chaldæa*, *Meſopotamia*, and *Perſia*. I ſhall add this Proof to theirs, That the *Chaldæans*, who dwelt towards the lower part of the *Euphrates*, were called *Sabeans* by the *Arabians* and *Jews*, that

is to say *Eastern*; and their Book concerning *Husbandry*, so often quoted by *Rabbi Maimonides*, was called *the Easterly Book*; and that the Christians of St. *John* which live about *Bassora*, which is a part of the ancient *Chaldæa*, bear still that Name. I shall add to this, That besides the Regions just now named by me, and called *Eastern* by the Sacred Authors; those also that were situated along the easterly side of the *Tigris*, are more especially called, as by their proper Name, קֶדֶם *Kedem*, *East*. And this hath given occasion to the Poets to feign that *Memnon* was the Son of *Aurora*, or the *Morning*, because he was born in *Susiana*, a Province adjoining to that of *Eden*. As the easterly side of the *Trigris* was called *East*, so the Westerly was on the contrary called עֶרֶב *Ereb*, *West*, from whence *Arabia* took its Name. The Word *East* being thus a relative Term; and seeing that one and the same place may be easterly and westerly if diversly considered, *Arabia* hath been called *East*, as also its neighbouring Provinces in respect to *Judæa*; and *West* in respect to the *Tigris*. Let us now return to the divers Expositions of the Text now in question. Some presumed, that as *Moses* wrote these Words in *Arabia Petræa*, he

he had a regard to its proper Situation, and called that *Eaſt*, which was ſo in reſpect to the place where he then happened to be. Others think, that as he wrote to the *Hebrew* Nation, and in reference to that time to come, when it ſhould be eſtabliſhed in the promiſed Land, he only minded that Land. And the moſt part pretend that this Word *Eaſtward*, according to the Rules of Grammar, refers to the immediately foregoing Words, *planted a Garden in Eden*; and that *Moſes* meant that the Garden comprehended the *eaſterly* part of the Land of *Eden*. For my part, I ſuppoſe that the Province of *Eden* extended it ſelf on both ſides of the River, and adjoined to *Suſiana*; and that therefore the part which was beyond the River, did partake of the very Name *Kedem*, *Eaſt*; as alſo all the Lands that lay on the *eaſterly* ſide of it; and that when *Moſes* ſaid that the *Garden* was *Eaſtward*, he meant that it was in that part of the Province of *Eden*, which was beyond the River, and was called *Kedem*, *Eaſt*. Some Commentators, by way of accommodation, approving of the Two ſignifications of *Time* and *Place* given to the *Hebrew* Text, (and which indeed may both ſtand together) and deſiring to

reconcile the divers Translations, maintain, That the Holy Ghost inspired this ambiguous Word to *Moses*, that we might understand that God planted this Garden in the *East*, and planted it at the beginning of the World, that is, on the Third Day of the Creation.

Mikkedem may signifie both Time and Place; but here it signifies chiefly Place.

II. I am not contrary to that Opinion, and I grant that the Word מִקֶּדֶם *Mikkedem* may signifie the time of the Creation of the Earthly *Paradise*, provided that it be granted to me, That it first and particularly doth signifie its Situation. And indeed all things do convince us of this; for if we come to reckon Suffrages, we shall oppose to those that I produced in behalf of the signification of *Time*, the *Seventy Interpreters*, attended with all the *Græcian Fathers*, and many of the *Latin*, the *Rabbins*, *Aben Ezra*, *David Kimchi*, and *Selomoh Jarchi*, with *David de Pomis*, the Oriental Translators, and most of the Modern Interpreters and Grammarians. To the Authority of the Vulgar Translation, we shall oppose the old *Italick* Translation; out of which St. *Jerom* did probably take the Text that we now examine, as it is cited in his *Hebraick* Questions, translated in these Words; *Et plantavit Dominus Deus Paradisum in Eden, contra Orientem.*

Orientem. And the Lord God planted a Garden in *Eden*, overagainſt the *Eaſt*. It is plain, that only the reſpect he had for the Three ancient *Græcian* Interpreters, *Aquila*, *Theodotion*, and *Symmachus*, made him alter the *Italick* Tranſlation in this Place, and made him infer out of the Words they made uſe of, That Paradiſe had been created by God before Heaven and Earth. Nevertheleſs this *Italick* Tranſlation, from whom this place of our Vulgar Tranſlation hath been taken, was made uſe of even from the beginning of Chriſtianity, long before and after St. *Jerom*'s time, in the Church of *Rome*, and in all the Churches of *Italy*, before all the other Tranſlations. And as it was compoſed upon the Tranſlation of the *Seventy Interpreters*, and that the place alledged by St. *Jerom* follows them Word by Word, I am, not without good Ground, brought to think, that it was taken out of that old Tranſlation.

III. To ſhew the univerſal Conſent of the Church in giving to this Text the ſignification that I am for, I could produce a Cuſtom that was practiſed a long while in it, and is not yet aboliſhed, to direct towards the *Eaſt* the Buildings of Churches, and oblige

We might prove it by the ancient cuſtom of Chriſtians turning their Churches Eaſtward.

Christians by that Situation to turn to the *East* in making their Prayers. The chief Reason for it given by the *Fathers*, is, say they, to put us in mind, when we look toward that part of the World, where that delicious Place stood, of the Happiness we have lost by the Sin of our first Father; and of the Care we ought to take for the recovering of it. But it seems more probable to me, that the Church brought in this Custom to distinguish it self from the Religion of the *Jews*, whose Temple was turned towards the *West*; as it is likely that the *Jews* placed theirs so, to distinguish themselves from their Neighbours, who for the most part were Idolaters, and Worshippers of the Sun, and made their Prayers towards the *East*: which Idolatry had crept in amongst the People of God, and is condemned by
Ezek. 8. 16 *Ezekiel*. And it is a remarkable thing, that as the ancient Religion, I mean the *Jewish*, ordered that Prayers should be made towards the *West*; and that afterwards the Christian Religion altered this Custom, and prescribed that Prayers should be made towards the *East*. So the ancient *Romans* did build their Temples toward the *West*, which Custom was since abolished,

liſhed, by diſpoſing them towards the Eaſt, before the time of *Auguſtus* himſelf: As *Vitruvius* who lived at that time ſays, and alſo *Hygenus* the Surveyor, who did write in the time of *Trajan*, the Rules of his Art. Vitruv. l. 4. c. 5. Hygen. de limitib. conſtit.

IV. We can make no doubt that *Moſes* made uſe of the word מִקֶּדֶם *Mikkedem*, in the ſence I take it, when we ſee that in the following Narrative he always made uſe of it in the ſame ſence; as when he ſays, *That God having turned* Adam *out of Paradiſe, he dwelt on the Eaſt of that place.* For altho' St. *Jerom* tranſlateth, *Ante Paradiſum voluptatis*, he doth nevertheleſs denote the Eaſt, which according to the Language of Scripture, is the fore-part of the World. He takes it alſo in the ſame ſence, when he ſpeaks of the confuſion of Languages, and ſays, *That thoſe who went to build the Tower of* Babel, *departed from the Eaſt to go into the land of* Sennaar. He uſes it twice in the ſame ſence, when he deſcribes the Situation of the Mountain where *Abraham* did incamp, after he went from *Sichem*, to ſignifie that the Town of *Hai* was on the Eaſt of that Mountain, Moſes *makes conſtantly uſe of the word* Mikkedem *to ſignifie a place.* Gen. 11. 2. Gen. 12. 8.

and the Mountain on the East of *Bethel*, and *Bethel* towards the Sea, that is to say on the West of the Mountain, making an opposition between the *East* and the *West*. He takes it so too, when he relates the parting of *Abraham* and *Lot* from each other, saying that the latter retired towards the East. And finally he makes use of it in the same sence in the book of *Numbers*, when he gives us to understand, that *Ribla* was on the East of *Ai*. I shall not quote many other places out of the other Sacred Authors, in which this term is taken in the same sence: These will suffice to shew that it was appropriated, as it were, to descriptions of *places*.

Gen. 13. 11

Numb. 34. 11.

Moses *meant by the word* Mikkedem *that Paradise was situated in the easterly part of* Eden.

V. But all the Ambiguity is not yet taken off; for altho' מִקֶּדֶם *Mikkedem* is here the name of a *place*, and denotes the *East*, yet it is uncertain, whether *Moses* would only give us to understand, that Paradise was Easterly in respect to himself when he was a writing this; and in respect to the Promised Land, to the Inhabitants whereof he did write; or whether he meant that it was in the easterly part of the Land of *Eden*: But I think that *Moses* having said that *Paradise* stood

ſtood in the Land of *Eden*; and the Land of *Eden* being ſo near the *Arabia Petræa*, where then the *Iſraelites* were, very few of them were ignorant of its Situation; and it ſufficed him to have ſaid, that *Paradiſe* was in the Land of *Eden*, to let us know that *Paradiſe* was eaſterly in regard to himſelf and to the Promiſed Land. Whereas it was neceſſary to mark in what place of the Land of *Eden* Paradiſe was. For what likelihood is there that *Moſes* having undertaken to deſcribe exactly the Situation of this Garden, of which he in the Series of his Narrative gives ſo preciſe and uniform marks, after he had ſaid that it ſtood in the Land of *Eden*, ſhould neglect to expreſs the *part* of that Land where it ſtood, and ſhould ſpeak of the *time* of its Creation, which had been marked enough in the firſt Chapter, where he relates the creation of Plants? Was it more neceſſary to know into how many branches the River that watered Paradiſe did divide it ſelf, and into what Countries theſe branches extended themſelves, and what Commodities were brought out of thoſe Countries, than to know in what part of a Province, to which ſome Authors give a very great extent, this

this delicious Garden was ſituated? Would this be agreeable to the exactneſs of a good Hiſtorian, who being willing to relate, how the *Venetians* took lately from the *Turks Napoli di Malveſia*, ſhould only ſay, that it is a Town in the *Morea*? Ought he not to have added, that it is ſituated on the eaſterly Coaſt of that Province?

CHAP.

Chap. IV.

Explanation of the tenth Verſe.

I. *Ambiguity of the tenth Verſe.* II. *The Ground of the Opinion of thoſe, who think that the four Rivers of Paradiſe ſpring out of the ſame Head, and having entred into the Earth again, come forth in other places.* III. *The Opinion of thoſe who maintain that the River which came out of* Eden *to water Paradiſe, had its Spring out of Paradiſe and* Eden, *is better grounded.* IV. *It is eſtabliſhed upon the deſcription of* Moſes *himſelf.* V. *We begin to know more preciſely the Situation of Paradiſe.*

I. VErſe 9. *And out of the ground made the Lord God to grow every tree that is pleaſant to the ſight and good for food: the tree of life alſo in the midſt of the garden, and the tree of knowledge of good and evil.* *Ambiguity of the tenth Verſe.*

Verſe

Verſe 10. *And a river went out of Eden to water the garden; and from thence it was parted, and became into four heads.*

The words of the ninth Verſe have no relation to the Situation of the Earthly Paradiſe, and are out of the ſubject of this work. But he that will read the following words with application, will find that none in all this deſcription, do more exactly mark the Situation of Paradiſe, yet none have been ſo little underſtood, none alſo have been a greater cauſe of miſtakes to thoſe who paſſed them over with a ſlight and ſuperficial view, and knew not how to get clear of the Ambiguities, that are there at leaſt in as great a number, as in the foregoing places; for when *Moſes* ſays that *a river went out of Eden to water the garden*, we know not, whether he means that a River went out of the Earth, and had its Spring in the Province of *Eden*, from whence it run along into the Garden; or whether he means that its Spring was in the Garden it ſelf, that was in the Province of *Eden*; or whether his meaning be only that after having run through that Province, it went out of it to water the Garden. All theſe ſignifications have their defenders, both ancient

ancient and modern: The number is great of thoſe that by the word *went out*, underſtand, *grew* or *ſprung out of the earth.* And becauſe this River divided it ſelf into four others, the heads of which are far from the Province of *Eden*, ſome have imagined ſubterraneous Conduits, through which the Waters of this Fountain were carried very far, and went out again to make the *Ganges*, *Tigris*, *Euphrates*, and *Nile*. Such is the opinion of thoſe who think that the ſealed Fountain, *Fons ſignatus*, which they pretend was the ſame that is now adays to be ſeen between *Bethlehem* and *Hebron*, and of which *Solomon* ſpeaks in his Songs, was the Spring of the four Rivers; and that the encloſed Garden, *Hortus concluſus*, which they ſet in the ſame place, was the Earthly Paradiſe. St. *John Damaſcene* fancied that the Ocean was that Spring, and conſequently that all the Earth was Paradiſe. Some believed that though the word *River* be here made uſe of in the ſingular Number, yet it hath a plural and collective Signification, which comprehends the four Rivers. Upon this ground, having found the Springs of the *Tigris* and *Euphrates* pretty near one another in the greater *Armenia*, they looked thereabouts for the

John Damaſc. de orthod. fid. l. 2. c. 9.

the Spring of the *Phiſon* and *Gehon*; and deceived by ſome conformity of names, or ſome light reſemblance, they made divers conjectures, all which have ſome eſſential defect, and do agree but with one part of the deſcription of *Moſes*. *El-idris* the Geographer, whom they without reaſon call *Nubian*, it being much more probable that he was born a Subject to *Roger* the ſecond King of *Sicily*: This Geographer, I ſay, fanſying that the Spring of this River, ſpoken of by *Moſes*, was in Paradiſe, placed Paradiſe at the Spring of the *Chamdan*, a great River in *China*.

Geogr. Nub. clim. 2. part. 10.

Ground of the opinion of thoſe, who think the four Rivers ſpring out of the ſame head, and having entred into the Earth again, come forth in another place.

II. Although the Opinion of thoſe who fanſie that theſe four great Rivers ſprung out of the ſame head, and entred into the Earth almoſt as ſoon as they were come out of it, to go into very remote places and there come forth again, be very ſtrange, yet it hath found credit, even amongſt the Heathens themſelves, and ſo much the more, becauſe there are great conformities betwixt thoſe Rivers. Their overflowings are at ſet times, though produced by different cauſes; the *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, as the *Po*, and many others, by reaſon of the Snow of the Mountains, which melteth away at the approaches of the Sun; the *Nile* and

and *Ganges*, as all those of the *Torrid Zone*, by reason of the Rains that are frequent there, when the Sun is vertical. The same Animals are found in the *Ganges* and in the other *Indian* Rivers, as in the *Nile*, as Crocodiles, and also *Hippopotames*, if we give credit to *Philostratus* and *Onesicritus*. The latter is contradicted by *Strabo*; and yet it is true, that the *Nile* is not the only River that produces these Animals. In that of *Petzora*, and in all the Coast of the *Samojedes*, which lies towards the Streights of *Vaygats*, there is to be found an amphibious Animal which the *Moscovites* call *Morss*, and is really a kind of *Hippopotame*. This may well be the reason why it was thought that the *Nile* and *Ganges* had one and the same Spring; since *Alexander* having found some Crocodiles in the River *Indus*, and Beans like to those of *Egypt*, upon the sides of the *Acesine*, a River that falls into the *Indus*, did not question but he had found the Spring of the *Nile*. For all the Ancients, knowing very little of Geography, thought, even since the time of *Marcus Paulus* a *Venetian*, who lived four hundred years ago, that the *Æthiopians* were neighbours to the *Indians*, and very often took the one for the other; and

Phil. Vit. Apol. l. 6. c. 1. Onesicrit. Strabo l. 15.

and that the *Nile* came from the East, and had its Spring in the *Indies*. *Virgil.* Georg. l. 4. tells it very plainly, and the Poet *Gratius*, who lived in the time of *Auguſtus*, writes, that the Kings of *Egypt* did reap the Nard which grows on the ſides of the *Ganges*. They believed alſo, as *Pauſanias* and *Philoſtratus* inform us, that the *Nile* was derived from the *Euphrates*, which after having plunged his Waters into ſome Meers, ſprung out again in *Æthiopia* under the name of *Nile*. And finally we know, by the Teſtimony of the Poet *Lucan*, and of *Boetius*, ſome fanſied that the *Euphrates* and *Tigris* had the ſame Spring. Here then you have the Springs of the *Ganges*, *Nile*, *Euphrates* and *Tigris* very near one another and even united, according to ancient Geography, which is indeed very falſe and very ridiculous, and which very much helped the receiving the groſs Error of thoſe who miſunderſtood the words of *Moſes*, which we are now about to examine.

Pauſan. Corinth. Philoſtrat. vit. Apoll. l. 1. c. 14.

Lucan. l. 3. Boet. Conſol. l. 5. metr. 1.

The opinion of thoſe who maintain that the river which came out of Eden *to water Paradiſe, had its Spring out of Paradiſe and* Eden, *is better grounded.*

III. But thoſe who maintain that this River that went out to water Paradiſe, had its Spring out of Paradiſe and *Eden*, and that the word *went out* doth not ſignifie *ſprung out*, but run from *Eden* into Paradiſe, are more in number and of greater weight. The word

Egredie-

Egrediebatur, which the Author of the vulgar Tranſlation made uſe of; and ἐκπορεύεται which the *Seventy Interpreters* uſed, anſwered to by the *Oriental Tranſlations*, expreſs the running of a River, and not its Spring. And even the term יֹצֵא *jotſe* which is in the Hebrew Text, gives us the ſame Notion. For altho' it is taken elſewhere, and even by *Moſes* himſelf, for the *Spring of Waters*; yet theſe being figurative Expreſſions, and this word being never made uſe of in hiſtorical Narratives, I do not ſee what may be inferred from thence for its proper ſignification. The *Hebrews* have many other words much more proper for that ſignification; and they have none more proper than יָצָא *jatſa* to ſignifie *coming out* or *running* to go into another place.

It is eſtabliſhed upon the deſcription of Moſes himſelf.

IV. If we conſider well the thing it ſelf deſcribed by *Moſes*, it leadeth us to this very ſence. For *Eden* and Paradiſe being two different places, (I mean different, as the whole from its part) and the Sacred Author having a mind to ſay, that the River went from one to go into the other, he expreſſed the two bounds of this running, *Eden* and the *Garden*, and he uſed the Words and Particles moſt ſuitable

ſuitable to this Expreſſion; for יָצָא *jatſa*, as I ſaid, in its moſt natural ſence, ſignifies *go out*; and the Preposition מִן *Min*, which is joyned with the word עֵדֶן *Eden* in the word מֵעֵדֶן *Meeden*, doth denote the place of this going out. The *Seventy Interpreters* rendred it very well by the Preposition ἐξ, and the vulgar Tranſlation by *De*. In the following word, לְהַשְׁקוֹת *lehaſchcoth*, *to water*, the Particle expreſſed by the letter ל commonly denoting the Gerund, ſignifies the final cauſe of this going out: And the following words אֶת-הַגָּן *ethhagan*, *the Garden*, denote the local bound of this running. If by theſe words, *And a river went out of* Eden *to water the Garden*, *Moſes* had meant that this River ſprung out of the Earth in *Eden*, 'tis evident his Narrative had been defective; having ſaid nothing of the running of this River: And to make it compleat, it ſhould have been in theſe words, *And a River had its Spring in the Land of* Eden, *from whence it ran along to water the Garden.*

We begin more preciſely to know the Situation of Paradiſe.

V. This Explication being received, we begin to have a clearer ſight of the Situation of Paradiſe. I ſaid that Paradiſe was ſituated on the Canal of

of the *Tigris* and *Euphrates* joyned together, betwixt their coming together and ſeparating from one another. This Canal is now called *Schat-el Arab*, that is to ſay, *the River of the Arabians.* It is the River here ſpoken of by *Moſes*: Seeing Paradiſe comprehended the eaſterly part of the Province of *Eden*, as I ſuppoſe, I have plainly evidenced it; and the River that did water it, ran through that Province, before it entred into Paradiſe; it muſt neceſſarily follow, that Paradiſe was ſituated on one of the turnings of this River, that goeth from *Weſt* to *Eaſt.* And if any ſhould deſire to have ſomething more preciſe or particular in this, we may underſtand that great turning of the River toward the Weſt, betwixt its joyning and dividing, and which is called *Agathodæmon* in the Maps of *Ptolomy*, and ſay that Paradiſe ſtood at the eaſterly end of the Meridional Branch of this turning. And conſequently all thoſe who ſet it in the places where this River runs towards the Weſt, or the South, have been under a miſtake. Perhaps it had another turning in Paradiſe, and then ran as before toward the South. *Joſephus* ſays, That it

it incompassed that delicious place, Πᾶσαν ἐν κύκλῳ τῶν γῆν περιῤῥέοντος. Which I but partly believe, for I am persuaded that the greatest part of the Garden was on the easterly side of the *Tigris*. I desire the Reader to reflect on this Observation, which is of very great Importance for the present inquiry.

Joseph. Antiq. l. 1. c. 2.

CHAP.

Chap. V.

Continuation of the Explanation of the tenth Verſe.

I. *New Ambiguity of this Verſe. The River divided it ſelf out of the Garden.* II. *The four heads into which the River was divided, were four different Rivers.* III. *Why theſe four Rivers are called heads.*

I. Verſe 10. *And from thence it was parted, and became into four heads.* The Rules of Grammar do require that this Particle *from thence* be referred to what he named laſt, *viz.* the Garden. And indeed *Moſes*, beſides the other marks he hath given of the Situation of this Garden, having undertaken to deſcribe it to us by the Rivers or Chanels, into which this great River that waters it is divided, the Deſcription which he is a going to make of theſe Chanels, ought to be referred to this Garden. Yet as Paraliſe was a part of *Eden*, one may conſider *Eden*

New Ambiguity of this Verſe. The River divided it ſelf out of the Garden.

Eden and Paradiſe together in the deſcription of theſe four Branches; becauſe they were divided from one another, after they had paſſed out of both. *Moſes* hath mark'd it plainly enough, when he ſaid, That *a river went out of* Eden *to water the Garden*; for theſe words give us to underſtand, that there was but one River in the Garden and in *Eden*, and conſequently that the diviſion did not happen there. Nevertheleſs the Subtilty of the Interpreters hath found here matter wherein to exerciſe it ſelf. Some ſay that the Particle *from thence* relateth to *Eden*, and that the River divides it ſelf there into four Chanels, before it cometh into the Garden. Others will have that diviſion to be made at the entrance of the Garden. Thoſe who pretend that the River divides it ſelf in *Eden*, do not agree among themſelves; ſome of them ſuppoſing that it divides it ſelf into four Chanels in *Eden*, which run all four into Paradiſe; others admitting but one of them into Paradiſe, leave the remainder in *Eden*. There are ſome who affecting to refine this matter, ſuppoſe that the River is firſt of all divided into two branches; and a little lower each of theſe two branches ſubdivided in two others

to

to make four. *Mahomet*, a bold and confident Contriver, entred not into these particulars, when according to his own Humour and Genius he framed the Idea of a Paradise, watered by four Rivers, the first of pure Water, the second of Milk, the third of Wine, and the fourth of Honey. Altho' many of his Followers speak but of the three last, reckoning the Water for nothing: The best and soundest part of the Interpreters is perswaded that the Division was made, out of the Garden.

II. Verse 10. *And became into four heads.* Many Translators passed over these two words *and became*, and expressed them not in their Versions. The *Seventy Interpreters* are of that number, and probably the *vulgar Translation* retained this Omission from the Ancient *Italick*, which was composed according to that of the Seventy Interpreters. One might justly wonder that St. *Jerom*, who found Mysteries in the very Disposition of the words of Scripture, hath not supplied what was wanting in this place. Altho' the Faithfulness which all Translators, especially those of the Word of God, owe to the Publick

The four heads into which the River was divided, were four different Rivers.

and to that Sacred Original, had not bound them to account to us for thoſe words; the only clearing of the matter, I mean of the Situation of Paradiſe, ſhould have ingaged them to it: For when *Moſes*, after he had ſaid, That the River divided it ſelf after its going out of Paradiſe, added, *And became into four heads*: Methinks he meant by that, that this diviſion made four Chanels, which are ſo many different and ſeparated Rivers, and never came together again. It is then as much as if he had ſaid, *And from thence it divided it ſelf, and became into four heads:* Signifying firſt the Diviſion, and then the Effect and Parts of the Diviſion. This is the Sence that the *Hebrew* Phraſe doth impart: As in the ſecond Book of *Samuel* the Hebrew Text is, *Be in brave and valiant men:* To ſignifie, *Be brave and valiant.* As St. *Matthew*, meaning it thus, *And they ſhall be both one fleſh*; kept the Hebraiſm of *Moſes*, *And they ſhall be both in one fleſh.* And as St. *John*, inſtead of ſaying, *And theſe three are one*, hath ſpoken like an *Helleniſt*, that is to ſay, he made uſe of an Hebrew Phraſe with Greek words, *And theſe three are in one.*

2 Sam. 13. 28.

Matt. 19. 5.

Gen. 2. 24.

1 John 7. 8

III. Verſe

III. Verſe 10. *Into four heads.* The word *Capita*, which the Author of the *vulgar Tranſlation* made uſe of, tranſlating literally the Hebrew רָאשִׁים *Raſchim*, deceived many Commentators; for having found in *Horace*, *Propertius*, and in ſome other Latin Authors, the word *Caput*, in the ſignification of *Source* or *Spring*, they took it here in the ſame ſence, and thought that this River produced the Springs of the Rivers which *Moſes* is a going to name. They were ſurely miſtaken, for the words רָאשִׁים *Raſchim* and *Capita* are taken here in the figurative ſence; not as ſome Interpreters expound, to ſignifie Rivers which are the heads, and as it were, Princes of the other Rivers in the Land, in the ſame ſence as *Virgil* ſaid, *Fluviorum Rex Eridanus*; and ſpeaking of the *Tibris*, *Heſperidum regnator aquarum*; becauſe the word רָאשִׁים *Raſchim*, taken in that ſence, ought to have been followed with the name of the thing, which theſe Rivers had been the heads of, as it is to be ſeen in thoſe places of *Virgil*, and almoſt always in Scripture; but it ſignifies *the beginnings*; *the approaches*; *what one meets with firſt*. The *Seventy Interpreters*

Why theſe four Rivers are called Heads.

Horat. Carm. l. 1. Od. 1. Propert. l. 2. Eleg. 12.

Virgil. Georg. 1. & Æneid. 8

terpreters have very well expreſſed that word by ἀρχάς. The French word *Têtes* is often uſed ſo: And it is a miſtake of *Severianus* and *Glycas*, to render the ἀρχὰς of the *Seventy Interpreters* by πηγὰς, *Fountains*. We find in many places of Scripture the word רֹאשׁ *Roſh*, metaphorically uſed, to ſignifie the beginning of a way, and rendred by the *Seventy Interpreters* by the word ἀρχὴ, and by *Caput* in the *vulgar Tranſlation*. It is taken elſewhere for a *body of Soldiers*; in that ſence the *Seventy Interpreters* tranſlate it alſo by ἀρχὴ. It might be well rendred in Latin by the word *Agmen*, which ſhould perhaps pretty well fit this place; for *Virgil* ſaith, *Venit agmen aquarum*. And the *Samaritan* Tranſlator very probably rendred in this ſence the word רָאשִׁים *Raſchim*, by that of *Nezolim*, which anſwers to the Hebrew נְזָלִים *Nezelim*, that is to ſay, *runnings of Waters*, *Ductus aquarum*; and not *Iſlands*, as it is in the Verſion of the *Engliſh Polyglot*. But the moſt proper and natural Sence is, that the River divided it ſelf into *four heads*, *four beginnings*, *four entries*. And it would be very properly ſpoken, to ſay of one, who coming

Sever. Gab. Hom. 5. in Hexaem. Mich. Glyc. Ann. part. 1.

Virgil. Georg. 1.

coming out of the Garden had taken Shipping on the River, that having sailed a while, he *entred* into the *Phison* or *Tigris*. In this one must not consider the great River with its four branches, in respect to the running of its Water, but in respect to the disposition of its Chanel. It must be looked upon as an High-way, of which it may be said, that it crosses over a Forest, and from thence divides it self into four ways, whether the division be made above or below the Forest. *Moses* did not say whether the division of the River happened above or below Paradise, or whether it happens near or far. He denoted it plainly enough, when he named the four Chanels or Rivers, which grew from that division. Those four Rivers were so well known in the places where *Moses* then was, and to those to whom he wrote, that it was enough to name them that they might be known. Yet he was not contented with it; and as if he had foreseen that future Ages, and far Nations, who were also concerned in the design of his work, might want some clearing of this matter, he gave so evident tokens to make those Rivers

known, that no Man can miſtake them but for want of heed; and cannot but eaſily perceive that the four Rivers which divided the great River of Paradiſe, were the *Euphrates* and *Tigris* above it; and under it the two branches which divide the common Chanel of the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, before it falls into the *Perſian* Gulf. And this will be made evident by what follows.

CHAP.

Chap. VI.

Explanation of the eleventh Verse.

I. *A general Idea of the running of the* Euphrates *and* Tigris. II. *The Land which the* Euphrates *and* Tigris *run through is much altered since the time of* Moses. III. *The* Euphrates *had at first but one Chanel which joined it to the* Tigris, *but many others have since been drawn out of it.* IV. *More Chanels yet drawn out of the* Euphrates. V. *Other alterations in those parts.* VI. *Some denied without any ground that the* Tigris *and* Euphrates *being joined together, do separate themselves again before they fall into the Sea.*

I. Verse 11. *The name of the first is* Phison; *that is it that compasseth the whole land of* Chavilah, *where there is gold.*

Verse 12. *And the gold of that land is good: there is Bdellium and the Onyx-stone.*

A general Idea of the running of the Euphrates and Tigris.

Before we treat in particular of the Rivers of Paradise, it is necessary to give the Reader an Idea of the running of the *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, without which he can not, but with difficulty, understand what I have to say. The *Euphrates* hath its Spring in the great *Armenia*, on the northerly side of the Mount *Abos*, which is a branch of the *Taurus*. The *Tigris* hath its Spring in the same Land on the southerly side of the Mount *Niphates*, which is another branch of the *Taurus*. These two Springs are above a hundred Leagues off from one another. The *Euphrates* takes its course towards the West, the *Tigris* towards the East; and they incompass *Mesopotamia*, one of the most famous and fruitful Countries upon Earth. They come after that together by many Chanels which incompass the ancient *Babylonia*. Then again making but one Chanel they run on towards the South, and before they enter into the *Persian* Gulf, they part from one another again, and incompass a great Island, which formerly was called *Messene*, and now is called *Chader*.

II. In

II. In the time of *Moses* the figure of that Land was very different from what it hath been since, and is now; the Industry of Men, the Power of the Kings of *Assyria*, *Egypt* and *Persia*, and of the *Caliphs*, who by turns were Masters of those Countries; the length of Time, the Violence of the Sea, and the Overflowings of Rivers, have caused many Alterations in it. Of the five Chanels that carry the Water of the *Euphrates* into the *Tigris*, and many Lakes, four have been made by the Industry of Men; that only which run through the great City of *Babylon* is natural. This seems not to agree with the opinion of some ancient Authors, who have writ that the *Euphrates* entred into the Sea, towards the West, by a mouth peculiar to it self, and quite different from those two, which since this River and the *Tigris* had in common; from whence one might inferr that in *Moses*'s time the *Euphrates* was not joined with the *Tigris*. These Authors add, That this Chanel being very much cut and diverted by the *Arabians* called *Scenites*, to water their dry and barren Country, is become so weak, and diminished so much, as not to be able to run into

The Land which the Euphrates and Tigris run through is very much altered since the time of Moses.

the Sea, as it happened to the *Rhine*, by reaſon of the frequent Cuts made by the *Dutch*.

The Euphrates had at firſt but one Chanel which joined it to the Tigris. But many others have ſince been drawn out of it.

III. But ſo great a River as the *Euphrates*, ſwelled with many Rivers, and increaſed every Summer by the melted Snows and Torrents from the Mount *Taurus*, was able enough in thoſe beginnings to make two Chanels, becauſe it afterwards made ſo many others. Some were firſt made, only to prevent the Overflowings that ruined the Country; their number was ſince increaſed, to water ſuch Countries as wanted Water. *Nebuchadonozor*, who was a very great Prince, and undertook many high things, ſignalized himſelf in thoſe Works; and that he might free that Country from the Waters of the *Euphrates*, under which it was wholly drowned, digged the chief Chanels; and to prevent the Country from growing dry, he made very large Ponds and Sluces, and maſtered that unruly River, and its troubleſom Waters. But tho' this great quantity of Water might at firſt furniſh the Canal that fell into the *Tigris*, and that which ran towards *Arabia*, and entred into the Sea, it is yet more credible, that the *Euphrates* had but

one

one natural Canal, by which it emptied it ſelf into the *Tigris*; and that the other which diverted it towards the Weſt, was the work of the *Arabians*. All the Ancients, and even thoſe who beſt deſcribed theſe Canals made by hand, do affirm ſo conſtantly that the *Euphrates* joined naturally with the *Tigris*, and that thoſe who digged ſome others, did but follow the Indication of Nature, that the contrary cannot be ſaid without raſhneſs. We read in an ancient Fragment of *Abydenus*, quoted by *Euſebius*, that all that Land was at firſt ſo covered with Water, that it was called the Sea. This could not be, but by the overflowing of the *Euphrates*, whoſe Chanel is very high; ſo that when it found any way to come out, it was by a natural fall carried into the flat Country of the *Babylonians*, and having ran over it, it neceſſarily fell into the *Tigris*, which was near and whoſe Chanel was very low. And this obliged *Trajan* to leave off the deſign which he had, to draw a new Trench from the *Euphrates* to the *Tigris*, that Boats might be brought thither, of which he deſigned to make a Bridge over the *Tigris*. He was afraid that too great a draining

Euſeb. præp. Evang. l. 9. c. 41.

ſhould

should happen of the Waters of the *Euphrates*, and that it should become innavigable.

Other Chanels yet drawn from the Euphrates.

IV. These Overflowings being prevented by Trenches (which could be easily made in that Country, its ground being very fat and soft, but wanted often to be renewed) and by Sluces. The *Arabians* following that example, to avoid a contrary evil, I mean the drought of their Sandy Ground, began to divert the Waters of the *Euphrates*, and to draw them to themselves; and having watered their Soil, they let the overplus run into the Sea. This overplus was dried up since by new Cuttings. It may be also that this Conduit was but a Torrent, which in Summer run into the Sea, when the *Euphrates* overflowed. However, the *Assyrians* and *Babylonians*, who by reason of a long Possession considered these Waters as their own, opposed this Theft of the *Arabians*; and thereupon arose great Quarrels betwixt those Nations. It seems, that to make an end of those Quarrels, and restore to the *Babylonians* what belonged to them, *Alexander* undertook to re-establish the *Euphrates* in its former Chanel, by stopping the Canal called *Pallacopas*

Pallacopas which made that River run another way. Those that digged this Ditch, had no other design but to hinder the Overflowings of this River, which happened every Summer, by conveying its Waters into Ponds and Meers; but the *Babylonians* Territory remaining dry throughout all the rest of the Year, and that of the *Arabians* injoying the benefit of it, *Alexander* designed to restore things to their former State, as a Governor of *Babylon* had before undertaken to do. The work was begun, but the death of that Prince hindred it from being finished then, as it hath been since. *Alexander* viewed several of these Conduits, caused them to be made clean, opened some, stopped others, and caused some new ones to be made. Many other Princes took the same care. One may see still, along the common Chanel of the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, on the right hand and on the left, many Canals made by the Industry of Men. The *Persians*, who did not understand Navigation, neither Commerce, or Sea-fights, and being afraid that their Country should be invaded, by means of the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, caused Falls and Cataracts to be made in many places of

of those Rivers *Alexander* restored them to their natural State, so that Ships could go up the *Tigris* as far as *Opis* and *Seleucia*; and up the *Euphrates* as far as *Babylon*; and thus Art wrestling against Nature, all that Country hath been altered.

Other Alterations happened in those parts.

V. Moreover the Sea that runs impetuously into the *Persian* Gulf through the Streights of *Ormus*, and the Tide whereof come thirty Leagues up into the *Euphrates*, falls with great Vehemency upon that Coast, which is the Extremity of the Gulf, and maketh a great Ravage in it. These violent Tides, with the swiftness of the *Tigris*, and a Storm that came on a sudden, put *Trajan* and his Legions in a great danger, near the Island made by the separation of the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*. That Country is flat, and in some places is defended by Banks; but in many others the Waters of the Sea breaking easily in, destroy by their sharp Salt the Fruits of the Earth and make it barren. The same aforementioned *Nebuchadonizor*, who performed so many great things, subdued this Sea by strong Banks, as he had subdued the *Euphrates*, and repressed the Robberies of the *Arabians*, who even at that time were

were very great Thieves, by causing the City of *Teredon* to be built on the Limits of their Country pretty near that place towards the East, the Waters of the Rivers carried so much Mud along with them to their mouth, that the Sea was thereby very much put back. Insomuch that the Fort of *Spasina*, situated on the Coast, betwixt the easterly mouth of the *Tigris*, and that of the *Eulæus*, which formerly was but half a League from the Sea, was distant from it by fifty Leagues in *Pliny*'s time, who assures us that no where else so great and quick a gain ever happened. Yet I am much inclined to think that there is a mistake in the Cypher, which is but too common in the Books of the Ancients. I know the same *Pliny* said after *Theophrastus*, that the *Euphrates* and *Tigris* carry no mud along with them; but this cannot be understood but of their Waters that are near their Springs, for all overflowing Rivers must necessarily become muddy, and the modern Travellers inform us, that the Waters of the *Euphrates*, drawing near the Sea, are very yellow and muddy. Besides, that the Fort of *Spasina* lieth not on the mouths of the *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, nor on that of the *Eulæus*, but on the

Plin. l. 6. c. 27.

Plin. l. 18. c. 17. Theophr. de Caus. Plant. l. 8. c. 7.

the Shore between the mouths of those Rivers. Succession of time hath put the Sea into its rights again; for the Inhabitants of the Country shew the place of a great Town that lies under Water. Besides all these alterations, there are to be seen along the Banks of the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, the Ruins of many fine Cities, the Riches and Greatness whereof are so much extolled in the ancient Histories.

VI. One may wonder that so learned Men, as were Card. * *Bellarmin*, and the Fathers † *Malvenda* and * *Bonfrere*, could deny, that the *Tigris* and *Euphrates* being joined together do separate themselves again, before they enter into the Sea. What will then become of that great Island made by their separation, called at present *Chader*, which † *Philostorgius* so plainly describes, when he says, that the *Messenians* are the Inhabitants of it, that it is surrounded partly with Sea, partly with sweet Water, *viz.* That of two great Rivers into which the *Tigris* is divided before it runs into the Sea. And we must not take for an Exaggeration what he says about the largeness of these two Canals, since that of the *Euphrates* and *Tigris* is twice and half as broad as the *Seine* at *Paris*, tho' it

Some denied without any ground, that the Tigris *and* Euphrates *being joined do separate themselves again before they fall into the Sea.*

* Bellarm. de Grat. prim. hom. c. 12.

† Malvend. de Parad. c. 48.

* Bonfrer. in Gen. 2. 11.

† Philost. l. 3. c. 7.

t be extraordinary deep. To the Testimony of *Philostorgius*, you may add that of *Asinius Quadratus* spoken of by *Stephanus* the Geographer, who says, that this Country, called *Messena*, is incompassed by the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*. You may yet join to it the Testimony of *Ptolomy*, who assigns two mouths to the *Tigris*, the one Easterly, and the other Westerly, and placeth the City of *Teredon* in the midst. But the Cyphers of the Situation of this Town are faulty in that Author, for it doth not lye in the Island, but on the *Arabian* Bank of the westerly Canal, and the Ruins of it are to be seen at present. Add moreover the Suffrage of *Xiphilinus*, who says, that *Trajan* possessed himself of that Island called *Messena* made by the *Tigris* towards its mouth, and where he had been exposed to great danger. Add also that of *Marcion* of *Heraclea*, who speaks of the easterly mouth of the *Tigris*, and consequently supposes there was a westerly one. And finally add to it the Testimony of the Travellers of these late times, and especially of *Teixeira* a *Portuguese*, and of Mr. *Thevenot* a Frenchman, who have seen and described the division of these two Canals.

Steph. in μεσοπων.

Ptolom. l. 6. c. 6.

Xiphil. Trajan.

Marc. Heracl. Peripl.

Teixeir. c. 3. Thevenot. Tom. 2. l. 3. c. 4.

CHAP.

Chap. VII.

Continuation of the Explanation of the eleventh Verse.

I. *The most common opinion concerning the* Phison *is, That it is the* Ganges. II. *The Ground of this Opinion.* III. *Which does not satisfie all the Objections.* IV. *Others believed that the* Phison *was the* Indus; *others the* Hydaspes; *others the* Hyphasis. V. Haython, *the* Oxus. VI. *Many* Rabbins, *the* Nile. VII. *Others the* Phasis. VIII. *Some the* Danube. IX. *Some others, the* Narmalca. X. *And in fine, others the easterly Canal of the two, into which the* Tigris *and* Euphrates *joined together, are divided.* XI. *The* Phison *is the westerly Canal of the two, into which are divided the* Tigris *and* Euphrates *after they be joined together, and*

the proofs of it. XII. *The Origin of the word* Phiſon *ſerves to prove it.* XIII. *Many learned Men have had ſome knowledge of what the* Phiſon *is.* XIV. *The* Phiſon *hath ſince given its name to other Rivers.*

I. VErſe 11. *The name of the firſt is Phiſon.* The word *River* muſt be ſupplied here, which the ſacred Author expreſſeth afterward when he ſpeaks of the other Rivers. This is the firſt of the four, into which the great River that went out of *Eden* and Paradiſe was divided. It would be a very great undertaking, very tedious to the Reader, and yet more to me, to relate in particular the different opinions Men have had about this River, the Names of the Authors that maintained them, and the reaſons whereon they grounded them; and to loſe time in examining and contradicting them. I will only touch upon them by the bye, being perſwaded that they cannot be better confuted, than by carefully ſeeking after the Truth, and endeavouring firmly to eſtabliſh it, when it is found; for

The moſt common Opinion concerning the Phiſon *is, that it is the* Ganges.

for this being done, every thing that will not agree with it, must necessarily fall of it self. The most ancient and generally liked opinion is, That the *Phison* is the *Ganges*. It seems that *Josephus* was the first Author of it; *Eusebius*, St. *Ambrosius*, St. *Epiphanius*, St. *Jerom*, St. *Austin*, many other Fathers of the Church, and most of the modern Interpreters and Divines have followed the opinion of *Josephus*. The *Indians* themselves were of the same opinion, and it was upon this account that they believed the *Ganges Holy*, that it washes away their Sins, and Sanctifieth them, when they wash in it, and that it will save them after Death, if their Bodies be plunged in it.

Joseph. Antiq. l. 1. c. 2. Euseb. de locis Hebr. Ambros. de Parad. c. 3. Epiph. Ancor. c. 58. Hieron. Epist. 4. ad Rust. c. 1. & quæst. Heb. in Gen. August. de Gen. ad liter. l. 8. c. 7.

The grounds of this Opinion.

II. The Beauty, Riches and Conveniencies of that River wherewith the Books of Travellers are filled, are the chief reasons why Men gave credit to that opinion; for tho' *Arrian* hath written that all the *Indians*, whom *Alexander* subdued, had no Gold, yet there was some in their Country; and *Moses* had a regard to the Nature of the Country, and not to the Manners of the Inhabitants. It is certain that the *Ganges* hath some Gold in

Exped. Alex. l. 5.

in its Sands, and on its Banks; that it is reckoned one of the chief Rivers that produceth precious Stones; that the Kingdoms of *Golconda* and *Biſnagar*, that lie on the weſterly Coaſt of the Gulf of *Bengal*, where the *Ganges* empties it ſelf, are full of Pearls and precious Stones; and it not being likely that mean Rivers ſhould come out of a place prepared and adorned by the hands of God, that Honour could not be aſcribed, but to the moſt famous Rivers of the World. So the Beauty and Riches of the *Ganges* made Men believe, that it came out of Paradiſe, and this opinion was the occaſion of its being reputed *Holy*. But beſides, as thoſe who pretend that the *Phiſon* is the *Ganges*, do alſo perſwade themſelves that the *Gehon* is the *Nile*, we diſcover another Motive, that inclined them to give credit to that opinion. I mean this place of *Eccleſiaſticus*, where we read that God *filleth all things with his wiſdom as* Phiſon, *and as* Tigris *in the time of the new fruits. He makes the underſtanding to abound like* Euphrates, *and as* Jordan *in the time of the Harveſt. He maketh the doctrine of knowledge appear as the light, and as* Gehon *in the time* Eccl. 24. 35. & ſeq.

time of Vintage. The Fathers in reading this, perſwaded themſelves that the Author had begun the Enumeration of thoſe Rivers with the Eaſt, and finiſhed it with the Weſt, according to the cuſtom of the *Hebrews*, to look on the Eaſt in their Geographical Deſcriptions, and by conſequence to have the North at their left hand and the South at their right; and that the *Phiſon* being the moſt eaſterly of the five, it could be no other than the moſt noble of the Rivers of the Eaſt, which is the *Ganges*. The *Tigris* comes after, as being the moſt eaſterly of the four others; next to it comes the *Euphrates*; then *Jordan*; and in fine the *Gehon*, which ought to be the moſt famous River of the Weſt, as the *Ganges* was of the Eaſt; and they found none to be preferred to the *Nile*. But nothing that I ſee can induce us to believe, that that ſacred Author had a regard to this, in diſpoſing theſe Rivers in ſuch an order, but that rather he did diſpoſe them ſo by chance.

Which doth not ſatisfie to the Objections made againſt it.

III. This ground being laid, that the *Phiſon* is the *Ganges*, they took no notice of the Objection that might reaſonably be made, concerning the diſtance of its Spring, from the Springs of

the other Rivers, which came out the same place; by which they ade the Garden almost as big as the arth. They had recourse to some rolous Conjectures, or to Fictions thout any ground, or to a Miracle, hich is the ordinary Refuge of those ho have no Reason to defend themves, and a most sure means to justifie e most strange Opinions. They had ard some falsly say, that the *Tigris* d *Euphrates* sprung out of the same ead; and they had heard it truly said, at pretty near that Spring, they hid emselves under the Earth, and soon ter came out again. They did not amine the length of this hidden nning, and they gave a huge extent a length of few Miles. They said, that is pretended Spring divided its Wa-s into four Rivers, which afterwards d themselves under the Earth, and at thorough long and unknown turnngs, under many Countries and Seas, ey run to the Extremity of the World, nd there came out again. Upon that round they made choice of what ivers they pleased, to make the *Phison* nd *Gehon* out of them. And indeed iver for River, they could not chuse etter than the *Ganges*.

IV. Those

Others thought that the Phison *was the* Indus; *others the* Hydaspes; *others the* Hyphasis.

IV. Thoſe who without going ſ far, believed that the *Phiſon* is th *Indus*, or *Hydaſpes* that falls into it, o the *Hyphaſis*, which, as ſome think, fal alſo into it; or according to the op nion of others, enters into the Sea b its proper mouth, found in it ſome o the Advantages that the others foun in the *Ganges*. The *Hydaſpes* bea Gold and precious Stones; and *Phil*

Philoſtorg. l. 3. c. 10.

ſtorgius, to ſhew that the *Hyphaſis* the *Phiſon*, ſays, there grows the Clov tree, which the Inhabitants of th Land think to be one of the Trees o Paradiſe; and that it preſently cure thoſe who plunge themſelves in i in the heat of a Fever.

Haython, *the* Oxus.

V. But I cannot gueſs upon wha account *Haython* Prince of *Armeni* and Friar of the Order of *Premonſtr* tho' very well inſtructed in the Affai of the Eaſt, called *Phiſon* the gre River of *Oxus*, which falls into th eaſterly ſide of the *Caſpian* Sea, no withſtanding all the *Arabian* Write call it *Gehon*, being perſwaded that is the River ſo called that comes out Paradiſe.

Many Rabbins, *the* Nile.

VI. Many *Rabbins* of great Repu and very Ancient, with the *Arabian* and amongſt others the Tranſlators

Scriptu

Scripture printed in *England*, gave to the *Nile* the Title of *Phiſon* upon the ſame accounts it had been adjudged to the *Ganges*.

VII. Thoſe who pretended that it was the *Phaſis*, ſo renowned by the Voyage for the Golden Fleece, had not much ado to find Gold in it. Its Spring is not far from thoſe of the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*. Its Waters are extraordinary good. There are ſome Pearls to be found in the neighbouring Seas, but ſo ruddy, that the Inhabitants do not take the pains to gather them. But I do not ſee how they will find there the *Onyx*, or any other precious Stones, or the *Bdellium*; and I ſee much leſs, how they will be able to make *Colchis* to be the Land of *Chavilah*. *Others the* Phaſis.

VIII. *Cæſarius*, Brother to St. *Gregory* of *Nazianzum*, and *Severianus* Biſhop of *Gabala*, did not ſurely think of all theſe Circumſtances, when they affirmed that the *Danube* is the *Phiſon*; for though ſome ancient Authors reckoned the *Danube* amongſt the Rivers that afford Gold and precious Stones, and that *Hungary*, through which it runs, and *Bohemia* that lieth near it, may have afforded *Some the* Danube.

it ſome, I do not think that either precious Stones; or *Bdellium*, were ever found there, or that *Germany* ever pretended to the Honour of being *Chavilah*. Many learned Men of ancient times, very able in other reſpects, have been very ignorant of Geography. *Cæſarius*, whom I juſt now quoted, maintains, that this ſame *Phiſon*, which he ſuppoſes to be the *Danube*, is nevertheleſs alſo the *Ganges* and *Indus*; and that having run through *Æthiopia* and *Elymais*, which he fanſies to be the Land of *Chavilah*, it falls into the Ocean near *Cadis*.

Some others the Nahar-malca.

IX. But thoſe who ſuppoſed it to be the *Naharmalca*, one of the Canals that join the *Euphrates* with the *Tigris*, minded neither theſe relations, nor the nature of that Canal, which was made by *Nabuchodonozor*, and therefore was called *Naharmalca* by the *Chaldæans*, and the *Royal River* by the *Græcians*, and by conſequence was not in *Moſes*'s time, and much leſs in *Adam*'s time. They had done better to ſide with thoſe who ingenuouſly confeſſed, they did not know the ſituation of that River.

X. Amongſt

X. Amongſt all thoſe that have been miſtaken in this Inquiry, none are more excuſable, and are come nearer to truth, than thoſe who believed that the *Phiſon* is the eaſterly Canal of the two into which the *Tigris* and *Euphrates* are divided, after their coming together near *Apamea*, and before their falling into the Sea. *Calvin*, as I already obſerved, was the firſt Author of this opinion. *Scaliger*, commended it very much, and imbraced it [illegible] afterwards many others. They might perhaps find Pearls, precious Stones and Gold along the ſides of that Canal, but certainly they never found there the Land of *Chavilah*.

And in fine, others the eaſterly Canal of the two into which the Tigris *and* Euphrates *joined together, are divided.*

Calv. in Gen. 2. 8. Scal. de emend. temp. l. 5. & epiſt. l. 4. Epiſt. 441.

XI. Having ſhewed what the *Phiſon* is not, we muſt now ſhew what it is. I already ſaid, that it is the weſterly Canal of the two into which the *Tigris* and *Euphrates* joined together are divided. To ſhew it, we muſt remember that *Moſes* wrote his Pentateuch in *Arabia Petræa*; and that of the four Rivers which he mentioned, this Canal was the neareſt him: So that natural order required that he ſhould name it firſt. The eaſterly Canal preſented it ſelf next to it, and I ſhall make it evident that this Canal is really the *Gehon*,

The Phiſon *is the weſterly Canal of the two, into which the* Tigris *and* Euphrates *joined together, are divided, and the proofs of it.*

which he named the second. Having passed over this River, and turning to the left hand, to come back to the place that we came from, we meet with the *Tigris*, and then with the *Euphrates*; and that is the order observed by *Moses*. As if I had a mind to make the Enumeration of the four greatest Rivers in *France*, I being at *Paris*, and having begun with the *Loire*, should in the second place mention the *Garonne*, the natural order would require of me to go next to the *Rhone*, and then to end at the *Seine*, that kind of circuit. Besides we must observe, that *Moses* hath given more marks, to distinguish the *Phison*, than for any of the other three; because that being once known, we can scarce mistake the others. Then he puts some marks on the two following, the *Gehon* and *Tigris*, and none on the *Euphrates*, which cannot remain uncertain, when the three others are known.

The Etymology of the word Phison serves to prove it.

XII. The Etymology of the word *Phison* helpeth also to distinguish it; for most of the Hebrew Grammarians agree, that it is derived from the Verb פּשׁח *Pusch*, which signifies *to run out, to be full, to increase, to multiply*

multiply; or from פָּשָׂה *Paſcha*, which ſignifies *to ſpread it ſelf*; becauſe, as I have already ſaid, Tides are ſo violent and ſo high at that end of the *Perſian* Gulf, that Trenches were not a ſufficient defence againſt their Irruptions into the grounds, that are very ſoft and low. So all that Coaſt is full of Lakes, marſhy places, and Sands, as *Strabo* obſerveth. In *Moſes*'s time, when the Induſtry of Men had yet oppoſed nothing to thoſe attacks, it is credible the overflowings were much greater than they are now. No name could then be given more ſuitable to that Canal that was apt ſo often to overflow, than the name of *Phiſon*, which *Joſephus* very well rendred by the word πλησὺς, that is to ſay, *Plenty*; and *Scaliger* yet better, by that of πλημμύρα, which ſignifies, *the overflowings of the Tide, the flux of the Sea.* The Author of the *Eccleſiaſticus* made an Alluſion to that Etymology, when he ſays of God, *That he filleth all with wiſdom like the* Phiſon. I know there are many other Etymologies of that word; but this which I do propoſe, is authorized by the votes of the moſt famous Grammarians.

Strab. l. 16.

Joſeph. Antiq. l. 1. c. 2. Scal. de emend. temp. l. 5.

Eccl. 24. v. 35.

Many learned Men had some knowledge of what the Phiſon is.

XIII. *Schickard* a *German* Profeſſor, a Man who underſtood extraordinary well the eaſterly Languages, and Affairs of the Eaſt, ſeems to have had a glimpſe of the truth, when he wrote in his *Commentary on the Tarich of the Kings of* Perſia, that he is ſure the *Phiſon* is to be lookt for in *Arabia*, and that all the Rivers of Paradiſe run into the *Perſian* Gulf, and that their mouths are very near one another. *Steuchus* ſpeaks yet more expreſly of it, ſaying, That the *Phiſon* comes from the *Euphrates*, and runs towards the *Arabians* of *Chavilah*. Yet he is miſtaken in this, that he doth not derive the *Phiſon* from the *Tigris* and *Euphrates* joined together, but from the *Euphrates* alone before their joining. The *Arabians* have hit the nail, when they ſaid, that the *Phiſon* was the Canal of the *Euphrates*, which runs not far from *Baſſora*. Some of them had given that name to the *Nile*, as I already obſerved; but others more clear ſighted, undeceived themſelves and acknowledged the Truth. * *Gigeius* and † *Golius* muſt be conſulted upon that. I know not where * Father *Kircher* a Jeſuit took the Geographical Map which he inſerted in his Deſcription

Steuch. Coſmop.

*Gigg. lex. Arab. tom. 3. p. 1056.
† Gol. lex. Arab. p. 1039.
* Kirch. Turr. Bab. l. 1. c. 5.

ſcription of the Tower of *Babel*, whether he had it from the *Arabians*, or from his own Learning which was extraordinary great. He deſcribes in that Map the running of the four Rivers, *Phiſon*, *Gehon*, *Tigris*, and *Euphrates*, and gives the name of *Phiſon* to the weſterly Canal, and the name of *Gehon* to the eaſterly one, into which the *Tigris* and *Euphrates* are divided after their coming together. Mr. *Bochart*, who deſigned to declare his mind more plainly and at large upon this, in his Treatiſe concerning the *Earthly Paradiſe*, leaves us to gueſs at his opinion, when he ſays by the bye, in his Book concerning the *Beaſts of Holy Scripture*, that the *Phiſon* is that branch of the *Euphrates*, of which *Teixeira*, in the Book of his Travels from the *Indies* into *Italy*, ſays, that it runneth into the *Perſian* Gulf, towards *Catif*, near *Baharen*. *Catif* is a Town on the eaſterly Coaſt of *Arabia*, that gave to the *Perſian* Gulf the name of *Elcatif-Sea*, as it is now called. And *Baharen* is an Iſland of the ſame Gulf, about ten Leagues off from *Catif*, of which I ſhall have an occaſion to ſpeak hereafter. Mr. *Thevenot* in the Books of his Travels deſcribes this Canal. He

Bochar. Hieroz. Part. 2. l. 5. c. 5.

Teixeir. *Travels from the* Indies *into* Italy. Chap. 3.

Voyage de Mr. *Thevenot*, Tom 2. Liv. 3. Ch. 9 & 1

ſays, that it runneth between the Country of *Baſſora*, and the Iſland *Chader*, ſtraight towards the South; that the eaſterly Canal bears the ſame name with the *Tigris* and *Euphrates* joined together, and is called *Schattel-Arab*, that is to ſay, the *Arabian River*; and that theſe two Branches make the great Iſland *Chader*, to which *Teixeira* gives above fourſcore Leagues in length: I believe that he meant *Spaniſh* Leagues, which make about ſixſcore of ours. The Canal which runs along that Iſland towards the Weſt, is probably the ſame that *Alexander* cauſed to be made in a ſtony Soil, and more firm than the natural Canal through which one might ſail toward *Arabia*, which was not two Leagues diſtant from it. This laſt which *Moſes* ſpeaketh of, was eaſily ſhut up by the ebbing of the Sea; its bottom being very ſoft and apt to be ſtirred, did not make a great reſiſtance. It was truly this that was called *Phiſon*; but becauſe that of *Alexander* took its place, and was very near it, I gave it the ſame name, according to ordinary uſe; that alloweth not the names of Rivers to be altered, when their Chanel or their mouth is altered; no more than it doth the names

names of Towns, when they alter their Situation.

XIV. The name of *Phiſon* in *Moſes's* time was peculiar to that weſterly Canal, that run towards *Arabia*; but it hath been given ſince to the *Tigris* and *Euphrates* joined together; and from the names of *Phiſon* and *Tigris* made but one, came that of *Paſitigris*, which was given ſince even to the eaſterly Canal. So that the names of *Tigris*, *Euphrates*, and *Paſitigris* were almoſt indifferently given to all the parts of the *Euphrates*, that are betwixt its joining with the *Tigris*, and the Sea. As now adays the name of *Schattel-Arab*, that is to ſay, *Arabian River*, is given almoſt to all the ſame parts. And to make it yet more intricate, *Alexander's* Soldiers returning from the Eaſt, gave to the River *Oroatis* which limiteth the *Suſiana* on the Eaſt, the name of *Paſitigris* which limiteth the ſame on the Weſt; Whether they miſtook in it, or did it on purpoſe; affecting to give famous names to the places they conquered, that they might increaſe the Fame of their Victories. After this manner they gave the name of *Caucaſus* to the Mount *Parapamiſus*, and the name of *Tanais* to the River

The Phiſon hath ſince given its name to other Rivers.

Orexartes. The Hiſtorians who afterwards did write *Alexander*'s Conqueſts, according to what theſe Soldiers related, and did not diſtinguiſh the falſe *Paſitigris*, I mean the *Oroatis*, from the true one, that is the *Tigris*, made a new *Paſitigris*, not only out of theſe two Rivers, but alſo out of the *Eulæus*, which, as ſome think, is the *Choaſpes*; and according to others only receives it into its Chanel; and having given to it the name of *Paſitigris*, they gave it alſo the name of *Tigris*, and that of *Euphrates*.

CHAP.

Chap. VIII.

Continuation of the Explanation of the eleventh Verſe.

I. *Divers Opinions concerning the Land of* Chavilah. II. *The true Situation of the Land of* Chavilah, *through which the* Phiſon *runneth, is ſhewn.*

I. Verſe 11. *That it is which compaſſeth the whole land of* Chavilah. The ſureſt marks whereby we may know the *Phiſon*, are thoſe that *Moſes* gave of it, when he ſaid, that it waters the Land of *Chavilah*; that there are to be found in that Land, good *Gold*, *Pearls*, or *Bdellium*, and the *Onyx-ſtone*. If then I can ſhew, that theſe marks belong only to that River which I pretend to be the *Phiſon*, no body will be able to contradict my opinion. Thoſe who inquired after the Situation of this River, whoſe different opinions I mentioned before, ought to have begun here; for if having

Divers Opinions about the Land of Chavilah.

having once found the Country of *Chavilah* where there was plenty of *Gold*, *Pearls*, and *precious Stones*, they had also found in it a River that had any communication with the *Gehon*, *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, they had argued very rationally, to inferr, that that River was the *Phison*. But instead of that, they placed the *Phison* where they pleased, and as it happened; and then they called *Chavilah*, that Land they had chosen, to place the *Phison* in. And as the two most common opinions are, that the *Phison* is the *Ganges*, or that it is the easterly Canal of those two which do divide the *Tigris* and *Euphrates* after their being joined; so the two most common opinions concerning *Chavilah*, are, that it is that part of the *Indies* which the *Ganges* runneth through, as most of the *Fathers* believed; or that it is the *Susiana*, which lieth on the East of that Canal. *Josephus*, followed by St *Jerom*, and by many others, imagined another *Chavilah* in *Africa*, towards the West, and gave that name to *Getulia*, without giving any reason for it. I do not see any other, but the conformity there is betwixt the words of *Chavilah* and *Getulia*, by transposing

Joseph. Antiq. l. 1. c. 7. Hieron. quæst Heb. in Gen.

of

of the letters. If this be a good proof, we muſt receive all Anagrams as ſolid Arguments.

II. To find out *Chavilah*, they ſhould have followed the Foot-ſteps of the Sacred Writers. In the tenth Chapter of *Geneſis*, where the diſperſing of Nations that happened after the Confuſion of *Babel*, is very exactly deſcribed, and where one may find the names of the Patriarchs and Founders of Nations, which are almoſt all the ſame names, with them of thoſe Nations, there is mention made of two *Chavilahs*; one, the Son of *Chus*; and the other the Son of *Joctan*. M. *Bochart*, who very learnedly explained that Chapter in his *Phaleg*, ſheweth, that this laſt *Chavilah* is the Founder of the Nation that inhabits the Land of *Chaulan*, ſituated on the eaſterly Coaſt of the *Arabian* Gulf, on the Weſt of *Arabia Felix*. This Land hath no Affinity with that we look for; but the other hath, which took its name from *Chavilah* Son of *Chus*, as the ſame M. *Bochart* doth tell us. *Moſes*, and the Author of the Book of *Samuel*, very plainly point at the Situation of this Land of *Chavilah*, when in order to expreſs the two Extremities of *Arabia*,

The true Situation of the Land of Chavilah, *which the* Phiſon *runneth through, is ſhewn.*

Gen. 10.7. Gen.10.26 & ſeq.

1.Par.1.23.

Boch.Phal: l. 4. c. 11. Gen.25.18 1Sam.15.7

Arabia, which lieth near the Holy Land, they mention *Chavilah* and *Sur*. *Sur* was a Desart adjoining to *Egypt*, towards the end of the *Arabian* Gulf. It follows then that *Chavilah* was on the other side of *Arabia*, towards the end of the *Persian* Gulf, that is to say, beginning at the West of the mouth of the Canal, which I pretend to be the *Phison*, and extending it self towards the South, along the westerly Coast of that Gulf, as far as *Catif*.

Joseph. Ant. l. 6. c. 8

And *Josephus* relating the same things that are spoken of in these places of *Moses* and of the Book of *Samuel*, and having a mind to mark the same limits of that distance, instead of *Sur*, puts *Peluse*, the first Town one meets going from *Palæstina* into *Egypt*, along the Sea-shore; and instead of *Chavilah* he puts the *Erythrean* or *Red Sea*, plainly declaring by those words the Situation of *Chavilah*. The Inhabitants of that Land were not unknown to Profane Authors. They call them *Chavlothéans*, *Chablasians*, *Chavlasians*, and *Chaveléans*, which names are manifestly derived from *Chavilah*, or *Chavilath*, (as it is written, when it is continued) and place them betwixt the *Nabathéans* and *Agréans*, which were

were *Iſhmaelites*, by origin Inhabitants of *Arabia Deſerta*, pretty near the end of the *Perſian* Gulf. Many learned Men amongſt the Modern, and eſpecially *Steuchus*, *Beroaldus*, *Grotius*, *Hornius*, and *Bochart*, have acknowledged this Situation of *Chavilah*, and very well ſeen, that theſe Nations which I named juſt now, borrowed from it their Name and Situation. *Calathua*, a Town in *Arabia Deſerta*, which *Ptolomy* ſets near the ſame places, hath perhaps ſome relation to this.

Steuch. Coſmop. Beroald. Chron. l. 2. Grot. in Gen. 2. 11. Horn. in Sulpit. Sever. l. 1. Boch. Phal. Præf. & l. 4. c. 11.

CHAP.

Chap. IX.

Continuation of the Explanation of the Eleventh Verse, and a beginning of the Explanation of the Twelfth.

I. *Gold of* Arabia. II. *And especially of* Chavilah.

Gold of Arabia.

I. THis is not all; we must find here some Gold, and that *good* too. That will not be difficult; for Authors both Sacred and Profane do very much commend the Gold and Riches of *Arabia*. *Diodorus* writes, that in *Arabia* was found natural Gold, of so lively a colour, that it was very much like the brightness of the Fire; and so fixed, that it wanted neither Fire nor Refining to be purified. Towards the West of that Land there was such abundance of Gold in the Country of the *Alileans* and *Cassanites*, that they valued it less than Silver, Brass and Iron. One may judge how rich the *Sabeans* and other *Arabians* were, by the Gifts that were made by the Queen

Diodor. l. 2. & 3.

Queen of *Saba* and all the Kings of *Arabia*, to *Solomon*, and by many other Teſtimonies of Scripture, and alſo by what *Agatharchides* hath written, *viz. That the* Sabeans *had filled* Syria *with Gold.* Many Nations in *Arabia* had the Name of *Sabeans.* But to come to *Chavilah*, that lies on the weſterly and ſoutherly Coaſt of the *Perſian* Gulf, it cannot be queſtioned but *Ezekiel* meant thoſe that inhabited the ſame Coaſt, when he ſays to the City of *Tyre*, That *the Merchants of* Arabia, Dedan *and* Cedar, *furniſhed it* with their Commodities; that thoſe of *Saba* and *Rhegma* did trade there in Gold and precious Stones, and in all ſorts of Spices; that *Haran*, *Chene* and *Eden*; *Saba*, *Aſſur* and *Chelmad* ſold there all kinds of Merchandices of a high value. There was a great Communication betwixt all theſe Nations through the *Euphrates*, and the *Perſian* Gulf; and we muſt particularly obſerve that the Prophet joins *Eden*, a Region where Paradiſe was ſituated, to *Saba* that lies in the Neighbourhood of *Chavilah.* Of this *Saba* muſt alſo be underſtood the words of *David* directed to *Jeſus Chriſt*, under the name of *Solomon*, in that Prophetical Pſalm, the 72, when he foretells

Ezek. 27. 20, & ſeq.

Pſalm 72. v. 10, 15.

tells him that the Kings of *Saba* shall bring him Gifts and Gold out of their Country: Which Prediction was fulfilled, when the Wise Men that came from *Arabia*, according to the most common opinion, offered to our Saviour Gold, Frankincense, and Myrrhe. *Rhegma*, mentioned by *Ezekiel*, was also a Town in *Arabia*, situated on the same Gulf, abounding in Gold and precious Stones.

Matt. 2. v. 1, 11.

And especially of Chavilah.

II. *Arabia* being thus so filled with Riches, and especially with Gold, and very fine Gold, no doubt but it very much dealt in it with the neighbouring Provinces, situated along the *Euphrates*, which was then the most populous Country in the World; and the Province of *Chavilah* lying between those Countries, besides the Gold of its own, had to be sure a great deal also in its Ware-houses from the neighbouring Provinces, by the Traffick and Entercourse of Merchants.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Continuation of the Explanation of the twelfth Verſe.

I. *Divers Opinions concerning the ſignification of the Hebrew word* בְּדֹלַח Bedolach. II. *The two moſt probable are, that it ſignifies an Aromatical Gum, or Pearls.* III. *The moſt famous Fiſhing for Pearls in the World, is near* Chavilah. IV. *There was alſo found in the ſame Country abundance of* Bdellium.

I. THE Hebrew word בְּדֹלַח *Bedolach*, which is rendred by that of *Bdellium*, is very variouſly tranſlated by the Interpreters. The *Seventy Interpreters* will have it to ſignifie here the *Carbuncle*, and in the eleventh Chapter of *Numbers*, the *Cryſtal*. Moſt of the Greek and Latin Fathers agree with them in the firſt Expoſition. St. *Jerom* after *Joſephus*, and the three Greek

Divers Opinions concerning the ſignification of the Hebrew word בְּדֹלַח Bedolach.

Joſeph. Ant. l. 3. c. 1

Greek Interpreters, *Aquila*, *Theodotion* and *Symmachus*, renders this word by that of *Bdellium*, which is a sweet-smelling Gum, and supposed by many to be the *Anime*. Some think that it is *Ebeny*, or the *Pepper tree*, or the *Clove-tree*. The *Persian* Translator will have it to be the *Beryl*. The *Arabian* Translators, and the *Syriack*, some *Rabbins*, and *Saadias Gaon* at the head of them, followed by a great number of learned Men, maintain it to be *Pearls*. Other *Rabbins* will have it to be the *Chrystal*; some the *Diamond*; others the *Jasper*; others the *Emerald*, or some other precious Stone.

The two most probable opinions are, that it signifies an Aromatical Gum, or Pearls.

II. Of all these opinions, the two most probable, and which most divided the Learned, are, that which takes *Bedolach* for an *Aromatical Gum*, and that which takes it for *Pearls*. The place of the Book of * *Numbers*, which they quote in defence of this last opinion, seemeth to be so plain and decisive, that I cannot see what exception can be made against it; for *Moses* intending to describe the *Manna*, says, that it was *like the Seed of Coriander*, and of the colour of *Bedolach*. Now it is evident by another description of the same *Manna*, which is to be found in

* Num. 11. 7.

in *Exodus*, that it was white, according to the Tranſlation of the *Seventy Interpreters*, which is proper to Pearls, as alſo is the roundneſs of *Manna*, and in no wiſe to the *Bdellium*. Hence it is, that the *Talmudiſts*, as Mr. *Bochart* learnedly obſerved, mentioning this deſcription of *Manna*, as it is in the Book of *Numbers*, inſtead of ſaying, that it was of the colour of *Bdellium*, ſaid, that it was of the colour of *Pearls*. I ſhall take no part in this diſpute: It will be enough for my purpoſe, to ſhew, that whether the Hebrew word *Bedolach* be taken for *Pearls*, or for *Bdellium*, both are proper to the Land of *Chavilah*.

Exod. 16. 14.

Talm: Joma, c. 8. Boch. Hieroz. part. 2. l. 5. c. 5.

III. For, as for Pearls, it is moſt certain, that there is no place in the World, that produceth ſo fine ones, and in ſo great a quantity, as the Sea about *Babaren*, an Iſland in the *Perſian* Gulf, ten Leagues off from *Catif*; that is to ſay, the Sea that waters the Coaſts of *Chavilah*, and into which the mouth of the *Phiſon* emptieth it ſelf. I ſhall not load this Treatiſe with a vaſt number of Citations, to ſhew how great a quantity of Pearls there is in the *Perſian* Gulf, and how much they are valued both by ancient and modern Authors.

The moſt famous fiſhing of Pearls is near Chavilah.

Authors. I have formerly writ on this subject at large enough in my Observations on *Origen*, and produced the Testimonies of Antiquity. Nevertheless that the Reader may not think I desire to be trusted, for want of Money to pay him, I will name some few of those, whose Authority cannot be excepted against. *Nearchus*, one of *Alexander*'s Captains, that conducted his Fleet from the *Indies*, as far as the *Persian* Gulf, speaketh of an Island in that Gulf, abounding in Pearls of great value. *Isidorus* of *Charax*, who lived a little after, says the same thing. *Pliny*, having commended the Pearls of the *Indian* Seas, adds, that such as are fished towards *Arabia*, in the *Persian* Gulf, deserve most to be praised: And in another place he takes notice of the Island of *Tylos*, as being the place of that fishing, which many suppose to be the Island of *Baharen*. *Arrian*, the Author of the *Periplus of the Red Sea*, sets a greater value upon the Pearls of *Arabia*, than upon those of the *Indies*. *Ælian* describes exactly enough how they were fished, and how much they were valued. *Origen* affirms, that *Indian* Pearls far exceed all others in value, and that amongst all *Indian* Pearls,

Isidor. Charac. apud Athen. l. 3.

Plin. l. 6. c. 28. & l. 9. c. 35.

Ælian. de anim. l. 10. c. 13. & l. 15. c. 8.

Origen. in Mat. 13. 45.

Pearls, thoſe of the *Red Sea* are of the greateſt value. We may ſee by theſe words, that he made the *Perſian* Sea a part of that of the *Indies*. *Pliny* doth the ſame. And indeed they divided all that great Sea, that incompaſſeth the ſoutherly Coaſt of *Aſia* and *Africa*, into two Seas; the *Indian* and *Æthiopian* Sea; and the *Indian* Sea, even near the *Indies*, was called alſo *Red* or *Erythrean Sea*: From thence we may inferr, that the Praiſes given by the Ancients to the *Indian* Pearls, might be given to thoſe of *Arabia*; but what hath been ſaid of the Pearls of *Arabia* could by no means be attributed to thoſe of the *Indies*; becauſe what belongs to the whole, belongeth to every part proportionably; but what belongs to every part, doth not belong to the whole. The *Rabbi Benjamin*, a *Navarrer*, who lived five hundred and fifty years ago, being at *Catif*, informed himſelf about the fiſhing of Pearls, that is made there every year, and about the manner obſerved in making of it, and inſerted it in the Hiſtory of his Travels, which he hath left us. *Teixeira* a *Portugueſe* another Traveller hath yet more exactly deſcribed this fiſhing: He ſays the Pearls of that Sea are

Plin. l. 9. c. 35.

Teix. hiſt. d'Ormuz, chap. 19.

are finer and weightier than those of other places, and that there is yearly sold of them in the Island of *Ormuz*, for above five hundred thousand Ducats: Add to it the Testimony of the other modern Travellers *Balby*, *Linscot*, *Vincent le Blanc*, of the famous *Tavernier* and of Mr. *Thevenot*, who by his Travels and Writings shewed himself so worthy of the name he beareth. Besides the fishing of *Baharen*, he also hath described that of *Carek*, another Island in the same Gulf, nearer the mouth of the *Phison*. Many other places of this Sea afford Pearls; as doth the whole Coast of *Arabia*, from *Mascate*, to *Catif*. This last place did belong to an *Arabian Emir*: The Bassa of *Bassora* possessed himself of it. *Baharen* belongs to the King of *Persia*.

Balby, Tom. 2. ind. orient. De Bry, part. 7. chap. 15. Linscot. chap. 5. Vincent le Blanc, part 1. c. 20 Tavern. Tom. 1. l. 2. c. 9. l. 4. c. 2. Tom. 2. l. 2. ch. 20. Theven. Tom. 2. l. 3 c. 11. & Tom. 3. c. 11.

There was also found in the same Country abundance of Bdellium.

IV. Those that maintain that *Bedolach* is the *Bdellium* a Gum, may also find some in *Arabia*. * *Dioscorides* expressly testifies it; and he sets a greater value upon the *Bdellium* of the *Saracens*, than upon that of the *Indies*. † *Isidorus* and * *Sylvaticus* are of the same opinion. And † *Galen* comparing the *Bdellium* of *Arabia* with that of *Scythia*, that is to say, with the *Bdellium* of the *Indies* (for a

* Dioscor. l. 1. c. 87. † Isidor. Etym. l. 17. c. 8. * Sylvat. Pandect. in Bdellium. † Galen. de Simplic. Medic. fac. l. 6.

part

part of the Meridional *Indies*, is called *Scythia*, and *Indoſcythia*) gives ſome advantages to the firſt, which he denies to the ſecond. *Pliny* preferrs the *Bdellium* of the *Bactriana* to that of *Arabia*, but he values that of *Arabia* above all the reſt. Plin. l. 12. c. 9.

He will have that Tree to grow in the Sands of the *Perſian* Gulf, which the flux of the Sea covereth with its Tides; and I do not know whether it be not the ſame which *Strabo* deſcribes without naming it, upon *Nearchus*'s information, when he ſays, that it grows in the Iſlands that are before the *Euphrates*, that it ſmells as Frankincenſe, and that out of its broken Roots drops this ſweet-ſmelling Juice. Strab. l. 16.

Now let the place of *Arabia*, from which it came, be which it will, all that which was to be tranſported into the Countries ſituated along the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, and into the reſt of the Northerly *Aſia*, muſt needs have been carried into the Land of *Chavilah*. And upon that account *Arrian* ſays, there was made a great Sale of Spices, and all *Arabian* Drugs in the City of *Diridotis*, which is the ſame with *Teredon*, the Ruins whereof are yet now to be ſeen near the mouth of the *Phiſon*. Arrian. Indic.

Chap. XI.

A Continuation of the Expoſition of the Twelfth Verſe.

I. *Divers Opinions about the ſignification of the Hebrew word* שֹׁהַם Schoham. II. Arabia *was formerly the moſt abounding Land in the World in precious Stones.* III. *The Ancients believed the* Onyx-ſtone *was no where elſe to be found, but in* Arabia.

Divers opinions about the ſignification of the Hebrew word שֹׁהַם Schoham.

I. I Followed the vulgar Tranſlation, and rendred the Hebrew word שֹׁהַם *Schoham* by that of *Onyx-ſtone*; although perhaps it is not the beſt, and could be better tranſlated by the word *Beryl*. All agree that the true ſignification of the Hebrew names of precious Stones is unknown, and it hath been obſerved, that amongſt the twelve Stones that were in the High-Prieſt's Breaſt-plate, none but the *Sapphire* and *Jaſper* kept their names. I could add that no body is well aſſured, that the Stones called in the *Hebrew Sapphires* and

and *Jaſpers*, be the ſame that we call now ſo; for if the Greek names of Plants have been ſubject to ſo many Equivocations, the Hebrew names of precious Stones have been yet much more ſubject to them. The word *Schoham* now in queſtion, may be a good inſtance of it. The *Septuagint Interpreters* who tranſlated it here the *Praſin-ſtone*, render it elſewhere the *Onyx*; ſometimes *Emerald*; now and then *Beryl*; and now and then *Sapphire*; and ſometimes the *Sardian-ſtone*. The three other *Græcian* Tranſlators, *Aquila*, *Theodotion*, and *Symmachus*, will have it to be the *Onyx ſtone*; *Philo*, the *Emerald*, following in this place the Seventy Interpreters, and *Joſephus* the *Sardonyx-ſtone*. St. *Jerom* producing this Tranſlation of *Joſephus*, ſays, that it agrees with that of *Aquila*, and with the Hebrew it ſelf. Whence it follows, that St. *Jerom* believed that the Hebrew word *Schoham* doth ſignifie the *Onyx ſtone*, and that the *Onyx* and *Sardonyx-ſtone* are one and the ſame thing. And having tranſlated it here in the vulgar Tranſlation *Onyx ſtone*, he rendred it *Sardonyx ſtone*, in the Book of *Job*. *Saadias* ſeems to be of the ſame mind, when he ſays that it is a white

Job 28.16. Exod. 28.9 & 35. 25. & 39. 5. Ex. 28.20. & 39. 11. Ezek. 28. 13.

Phil. de Monar. l. 2. Exo. 28.9. Joſeph. Ant. l. 3. c. 8 & 9. & de bell. Jud. l. 6. c. 15. Hier. Epiſt. 128. ad Fabiolam, De veſte Sacerdotali.

Job 28.16.

Aben-Ezr. in Gen. 2. 12.

and neat precious Stone. *Aben-Ezra*, who quotes him, acknowledges his Ignorance therein. *David de Pomis*, and almoſt all makers of Hebrew-Dictionaries, are alſo for the *Onyx*. But the *Chaldæan* Paraphraſts, *Onkelos*, and *Jonathan*, the *Arabian* Interpreter, and the *Syrian*, *Moſes Barcepha*, who followed him, as being a *Syrian* himſelf, take *Schoham* for the *Beryl*. *Arias Montanus* having a mind to reconcile theſe different Opinions, ſaid, That the *Beryl* was a kind of *Onyx*. The ancient Italick Verſion, *Euſebius*, *Severinus*, St. *Ambroſius*, St. *Auſtin*, and many other Fathers of the Church follow the Seventy Interpreters in this place, and render it the *Praſin-ſtone*, and St. *Epiphanius* tranſlated it *Beryl*, as well as the *Chaldæan* Paraphraſt.

Moſ. Barc. c. 21, & 28.

Arias Mont. in lib. Aaron. Ital. Verſ. apud Hieron. quæſt. Hebr. in Gen.

Euſeb. de locis Hebr.

Severin. Hom. 5. in Hexaem.

Ambroſ. de Parad. c. 3.

Aug. de Gen. ad litor. l. 8. c. 7

Epiph. de 12. gemm.

Arabia was formerly the moſt abounding Land in the world in precious Stones.

II. I produce this variety of Opinions, to ſhew that nothing certain can be ſaid of the Stone *Schoham*; and ſo it will be enough to make it evident, that *Arabia* was formerly very abounding in precious Stones. I ſay formerly, for now it is no more ſo, and the greateſt Trade of them is in the *Levant*. My firſt proof ſhall be taken from the already quoted place of *Ezekiel*, where the Prophet amongſt the chiefeſt Commodities

modities that came from *Saba* and *Rhegma*, places in *Arabia-Fœlix*, ſituated on the eaſterly Coaſt, not far from *Chavilah*, and whoſe Inhabitants dealt with the *Tyrians*, reckoneth the moſt precious Spices, precious Stones and Gold. *Nearchus* who had navigated in the *Perſian* Gulf, affirmed, as *Strabo* tells us, that there were many Iſlands in that Gulf, in which there were extraordinary fine precious Stones. The ſame *Strabo* ſays, that the Riches of *Arabia*, which did conſiſt in precious Stones, and excellent Perfumes, the Trade whereof brought them a great deal of Gold and Silver, beſides the natural Gold of the Country, made *Auguſtus* to ſend *Ælius Gallus* thither in order to make thoſe Nations his Friends, and draw to himſelf their Riches, or to ſubdue them. *Diodorus* deſcribes at large the Advantages of *Arabia*, and eſpecially its precious Stones. He ſays that that Region affords ſome of all kinds, that they are very much to be valued by reaſon of the variety and brightneſs of their colours, and he inquires into the natural cauſes of it. *Pliny*, who imployed all his laſt Book in clearing this ſubject, and pretty curiouſly marketh the Countries of pre-

Strab. l. 16.

Diod. l. 2.

cious Stones, assures us, that those that are most valued come out of *Arabia*. Though now they are more scarce there, than they were then, (for Mines of precious Stones, as well as those of Metals, are exhausted by length of time.) The Travellers, the Naturalists and Lapidaries do yet find some there. *Giulful* and *Baharen* do afford some, and the Continent of *Arabia* a great many more.

The Ancients believed the Onyx-stone was no where else to be found but in Arabia.

III. But if nevertheless one will restrain this place of *Moses* to the *Onyx-stone*, he shall have *Pliny* on his side, who says, that the Ancients were perswaded that the *Onyx-stone* was no where else to be found but in the Mountains of *Arabia*.

CHAP.

Chap. XII.

Explanation of the Thirteenth Verſe.

I. *The two moſt common Opinions concerning the* Gehon *are, that it is either the* Nile, *or the weſterly Chanel of the two, into which the* Tigris *and* Euphrates *after their being joined together are divided.* II. *The grounds of the Opinion which will have the* Gehon *to be the* Nile. III. *Of the Hebrew word* שיחור Schichor, *which* Jeremiah *giveth to the* Nile, *and the Seventy Interpreters rendred by that of* Γιὼν. IV. *Why it was thought that the* Nile *and ſome other Rivers came from Heaven.* V. *They confounded the* Oxus *with the* Nile. VI. *The grounds of the Opinion that will have the* Gehon *to be the moſt weſterly Chanel of the two which divide the* Tigris *and*

Euphrates *after their being joined.* VII. *The* Gehon *is the eaſterly Chanel of the two which divide the Waters of the* Euphrates *and* Tigris *after joining.* VIII. *The Origin of the word* Gehon *ſerves to prove it.* IX. *Why* Moſes *hath not affixed ſo many marks on the* Gehon *as on the* Phiſon, *and why it hath been thought that the* Nile *came out of the* Euphrates.

The two moſt common Opinions concerning the Gehon *are, that it is either the* Nile, *or the weſterly Chanel of the two, into which the* Tigris *and* Euphrates *after their being joined together are divided.*

I. VErſe 13. *And the name of the ſecond River is* Gehon: *the ſame is it that compaſſeth the whole land of* Chus. There has been as many different opinions about the *Gehon*, as about the *Phiſon*. Some took it for the *Ganges*; others and eſpecially the *Arabians*, for the *Oxus*. Some thought it was the *Araxus*; ſome the *Naharmalca*, which is one of the Canals made by hand, that join the *Euphrates* with the *Tigris*; others took it for the *Naharfares*, which is the moſt weſterly of thoſe Canals; and ſome for the Torrent that hath the ſame name of

of *Gehon* near *Jeruſalem*. I paſs over many other opinions about it, in order to conſider two of them, that have moſt Followers; I mean that which holds *Gehon* to be the *Nile*, and that which will have it to be the moſt weſterly Canal of them two, into which the *Tigris* and *Euphrates* are divided after they have been joined together, which I ſhewed before to be the *Phiſon*.

The grounds of the opinion that will have the Gehon to be the Nile.

II. The firſt of theſe opinions, *viz.* That the *Gehon* is the *Nile*, is that of * *Joſephus*, of moſt of the Fathers, and of a great many Interpreters of Scripture. The *Abyſſins* themſelves pretend to it, and do not know now a-days the *Nile* under any other name than that of *Gichon*, by an Error like to that as brought them to ſay, that the Queen of *Saba* had reigned in their Country; and that their Kings came from *Solomon* and Her; and that *Memnon* was their Country-man. That opinion was firſt grounded upon the place of *Eccleſiaſticus*, which I quoted before; for as it was ſuppoſed, that in the enumeration of the five Rivers, *Phiſon*, *Tigris*, *Euphrates*, *Jordan*, and *Gehon*, the Author having begun with the Eaſt, it followed that the *Phiſon* was the *Ganges*; it was alſo thought

* Joſeph. Ant. l. 1. c. 2.

Eccl. 24. 35. & ſeq.

that he finiſhed with the Weſt, and by conſequence that the *Gehon* was the *Nile*. Beſides, they perſwaded themſelves, that this was the opinion of the *Seventy Interpreters*, becauſe in the ſecond Chapter of *Jeremiah* they rendred the Hebrew word שִׁיחוֹר *Schichor*, by that of *Gehon*.

Jer. 2. 18.

Of the Hebrew word שִׁיחוֹר Schichor, *which* Jeremiah *giveth to the* Nile, *and the Seventy Interpreters rendred by that of* Γιων.

III. This place is worth conſidering. God upbraideth the *Iſraelites*, that they forgot to truſt upon him, and did fly for help to the *Egyptians* and *Aſſyrians*. And now, ſays God unto them, *What haſt thou to do in the way of* Egypt, *to drink the waters of the* Nile? The Seventy Interpreters tranſlated Τὸ ὕδωρ Γιὼν, *The Water of* Gehon: And St. *Jerom*, *Troubled Water*. *Schichor* doth not properly ſignifie *troubled*; but it ſignifies *black*; and the *Nile* was called ſo, by reaſon of the blackneſs of its Waters. The *Egyptians* did upon that account draw its Picture in black under the Perſon of *Oſiris*, and the *Græcians* called it μέλας, *black*; and the Latin *Melo*, from whence ſome derive the word *Nilus*. But they are miſtaken, for it cometh from the word *Nuchul*, which was the name given to it by thoſe

Hieron. in Jer. 2. 18, & Epiſt. 27. c. 6.

thoſe that dwelt on the ſides of it, as *Æthicus* the Geographer informs us. *Nuchul* is the ſame with the Hebrew נַחַל *Nachal*, which ſignifies a *Torrent*, as the ſacred Authors often call it, by reaſon of its frequent Overflowings occaſioned by the Rains. As from *Nachal*, or *Nuchul*, came the word *Nilus*; ſo from *Schichor* came *Siris* and *Sirius*, which are both of them names of the *Nile*; and the laſt hath been given to the Dog-ſtar, becauſe the overflowing of the *Nile* begins in the Dog days. Yet as the Water of that River is black only becauſe it is full of the Mud of *Egypt*, the Soil whereof is black, for which reaſon it received the Epithet of μελάμβωλος, St. *Jerom*'s Tranſlation, who rendreth it *troubled*, may take place, taking the Effect for the Cauſe. Perhaps the Seventy Interpreters upon the ſame account had writ, ὕδωρ γῆϊον, *earthy* or *muddy Water*; which ſince hath been changed into πηγῶν. Yet I do not affirm it, becauſe ſome ancient Interpreters of the Tranſlation of the *Seventy Interpreters* and the Fathers of the Church, who cite that place, conſtantly read πηγῶν.

IV. Since

Why it was thought that the Nile *and some other Rivers came from Heaven.*

IV. Since the *Nile* was taken for the *Gebon*, the *Egyptians* a very Superstitious Nation, and the *Gymnosophists* themselves Philosophers of great repute, set no bounds to the Worship they presented it. They not only believed its Spring to be Sacred; they not only adored and invoked it as the greatest of Gods, under the name of *Osiris*, (which name, as I said, is derived from *Schichor*) under the name of *Orus* and of *Jupiter*; they not only instituted in its Honour the most solemn of their Feasts, and consecrated to it some Priests; but they also said that it *descended from Heaven.* The *Turks* and *Jews*, without a further inquiry, believed them on their word, and suffered themselves to be perswaded, that this Water was Holy, so much the easier, because the Spring of it was unknown to them. *Homer* who had travelled and studied in *Egypt*, learned that Doctrine there; for he calls the *Nile* Διοτρὲς, that is to say, *Come from* Jupiter. And that is true in one respect, as *Strabo* and *Eustathius* observed it, for its overflowing is meerly caused by Rains, which *Jupiter* is the dispenser of according to the Poets, and this the Ancients were not ignorant

Homer. Odyss. δ'.

Strab. l. 1. Eustath. in Hom. Odyss. δ'.

ignorant of; ſo that the Διϊπετὴς of *Homer* properly ſignifies in that ſenſe, *fallen from the Clouds.* *Plautus* ſpeaking of a River which he doth not name, had probably in his mind that Epithet of *Homer*, and intended to deſcribe the *Nile*, when he ſaid, that its Spring is in Heaven, under the Throne of *Jupiter*. The *Æthiopians* in like manner called the *Nile Aſtapus*, which in their own Language ſignifies, *Water come out of darkneſs*; but upon another account, either becauſe they did not know its Spring, or becauſe it hid it ſelf under the Earth in ſome places. Although the *Egyptians* ſaying that the *Nile* came from Heaven, may have ſpoken as natural Philoſophers to expreſs its nature, yet they have alſo ſpoken as Divines, meaning that the *Nile* came from Paradiſe which is in Heaven, not diſtinguiſhing it from the Earthly one. The *Brachmans* ſay the ſame of the *Ganges*, and they call it *Celeſtial River*, as the *Nile* was called a River *come from Jupiter*. And the *Mahometans* upon the ſame account give the ſame origin to the *Oxus* which they call *Geihon*, to the *Tigris* and to the *Euphrates*. They give it alſo to the *Taxart*, which they call *Sichon*; for which I ſee no other reaſon, than

Plaut. trin. Act. 4. Sc. 2

than the nearneſs of thoſe Rivers and of their Branches, which made thoſe People believe, that they had the ſame Spring, and conſequently that not one could come from Heaven, but all muſt alſo neceſſarily come from thence. They confounded perhaps this *Sichom* with another River of the ſame name in *Cilicia*. It is that which the ancient *Græcian* Geographers call *Cydnus*. Another River in the ſame Province called *Gehon*, occaſioned their miſtake. It is the *Pyramus* of the Ancients. It runneth through the City of *Adana*, of which I had occaſion to ſpeak before. The name *Adana* is the ſame with *Eden*. This was ſufficient to make that Nation believe, that this *Eden* was the place where Paradiſe was ſituated, and that thoſe Rivers came from thence. *Abulfeda* an *Arabian* Geographer falſly imagined that thoſe two Rivers came together near *Adana*, and jointly entred into the Sea. They heard beſides of another River in the ſame Province, called Paradiſe. *Pliny* marked it, and ſome others alſo. All theſe obſcure Idea's joined with the groſs and ruſtical Ignorance of the *Mahometans*, made them fanſie, that the River *Sichom* came from Heaven.

V. The

V. The want of knowing the truth hath not only made the name of *Gehon* to be common to the *Nile* and *Oxus*, but it also hath applied to those Rivers one of the most remarkable accidents that ever happened upon the *Nile*, I mean, that of *Moses*, when he was exposed upon it. *Teixeira* tells us of one like this concerning *Darab* King of *Persia*. He says, the Queen his Mother was forced to expose him in a Cradle on the *Oxus*; that he was saved, by a Man, who being surprised at his Beauty, and pitying his Misfortune, had him brought up by his Wife, and that at last he came to the Crown by his own Merit.

They confounded the Oxus with the Nile.

VI. I come now to the other opinion, which comes nearer the truth, and supposes the *Gehon* to be the most westerly Chanel of the two into which the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, joined together, are divided, when they separate again to enter into the Sea. It is the opinion of the Doctors of *Lovain*, of *Scaliger*, and of most of the Modern Interpreters, who in this all followed *Calvin*. Their chiefest reason is the same, which induced them to

The grounds of the opinion that will have the Gehon to be the most westerly Chanel of the two, which divide the Tigris and Euphrates.

Lovan. in Gen. 2. 13. Scal. de emend. temp. l. 5.

to take the eaſterly Chanel for the *Phiſon*; for that being laid, it was a conſequence of their opinion, to ſay, that the *Gehon* was the weſterly Chanel. They had another peculiar reaſon for it, becauſe they took the Province of *Chus*, watered by that River, for *Arabia*, and knew none other of that name but *Arabia* and *Æthiopia*. But I ſhall make it appear how much they were miſtaken in that particular, which would be enough to overthrow their opinion.

The Gehon *is the eaſterly Chanel of the two which divide the mixed Waters of the* Euphrates *and* Tigris.

VII. But it will be a more ſure means to do it, if we ſhew, that the *Gehon* is the eaſterly Chanel of the two which divide the *Euphrates* and *Tigris* after their coming together. Now as from the opinion of thoſe who take the *Phiſon* for the eaſterly Chanel, it follows, that the *Gehon* is the weſterly one; it follows alſo from ours, according to which the *Phiſon* is the weſterly Chanel, and *Chavilah* watered by the *Phiſon* (the firſt Province that one meets on the Weſt of the mouth of the *Euphrates*:) It follows, I ſay, from that Syſtem, that the *Gehon* is the eaſterly Chanel, and that the Province of *Chus* which the

the *Gehon* runneth through, is the firſt Province that one meets at the Eaſt of the mouth of the *Euphrates.*

VIII. That Chanel coming from the *Euphrates*, as the *Phiſon*, and falling into the ſame Sea, is ſubject to the ſame Increaſes and Overflowings, but yet not ſo great, becauſe its Banks are not ſo low. By reaſon of thoſe Overflowings it got the name of *Gehon*, or, as the *Hebrews* write and pronounce it, *Gichon*, from the Verb גיח *Guach*, which ſignifieth, to *ſlip away.* That little Brook near *Jeruſalem* had the ſame name for the ſame reaſon, becauſe it watered the neighbouring Gardens. It was called otherwiſe *Siloë* שלוח. That word in the Goſpel is rendred by that of ἀπεσταλμένος שלוּחַ *Schaluach*, that is to ſay, *ſent*, *ſlipped away*, *diverted*, *led* to water the Soils. That is the reaſon why the Paraphraſt *Jonathan* having found the word *Gehon* in the Hebrew Text of the firſt Book of *Kings*, he rendred it by the word *Siloa.* I ſhall not loſe time in producing all the other Etymologies of that word, which the *Fathers*, the *Interpreters*, and the *Rabbins* contrived. I will only inſiſt on

The origin of the word Gehon ſerves to prove it.

John 9. 7.

1 Reg. 1. 33.

Joseph. Ant. l. 1. c. 2

on that which *Josephus* mentions. He expounds *Gehon*, Τὸν ἀπὸ τῆ ἀνατολῆς ἀναδιδόμενον, *which is produced, which runneth out of the East.* He adds, that it is the *Nile*, according to the Error of the Ancients, who confounded the *Indies* and *Æthiopia*, and supposed them to be, as well as the Spring of the *Nile*, at the East of *Egypt*. He shewed in this place, as in many others, that though he was a *Jew*, he was never the more skilled for that in the Hebrew Tongue; for he derives the word Γεὼν, from the Verb נָגַהּ *Nagah*, which signifies *to shine, to glitter*; whence comes נֹגַהּ *Nogah, Lucifer, the Morning Star*, and נְגֹהִי *Noghi, the day light*; and גִּיהַּ *Giah, brightness, splendor*; and the Syriack מַגָּהָא *Magaha, the Aurora, the Morning.* And from גִּיהַּ *Giah*, *Josephus* supposed that the word גִּיחוֹן *Gehon*, was derived, not knowing that the Hebrew word is גִּיחוֹן *Gichon*, and not גִּיהוֹן *Gihon*; or if he knew it, yet he was ignorant that גִּיחוֹן *Gichon* had a more natural, and not so far fetched derivation. However if this derivation takes place, it will confirm my opinion, and mark the Situation of that Chanel towards the East,

Eaſt, in reſpect to the *Phiſon*, which is towards the Weſt.

IX. I have already ſaid, that *Moſes* hath not affixed ſo many marks on the *Gehon*, as on the *Phiſon*, becauſe this laſt being known, the Situation of the others would be ſufficient to make them known; for the *Phiſon* being the firſt in reſpect to *Arabia Petræa*, where *Moſes* was writing; the ſecond, which was the *Gehon*, was neceſſarily the next to it, *viz.* the eaſterly Chanel of the two into which the *Euphrates* is divided; for it could not be looked for farther, without contravening the words of *Moſes*, which do expreſly declare, that this River was joined with the three others in Paradiſe. They were ſo perſwaded of it, that as I think, nothing more induced Men to believe, that the *Nile* came out of the *Euphrates*, as *Pauſanias* and *Philoſtratus* do aſſure us it was believed, than the opinion which they held, that the *Gehon* was the *Nile*, and that beſides, it went for certain, that the *Gehon* was a branch of the *Euphrates*. The *Gehon* had perhaps been more eaſily known by

Why Moſes *affixed not as many marks on the* Gehon, *as on the* Phiſon, *and why it hath been thought that the* Nile *came out of the* Euphrates.

Pauſan. Corinth. Philoſt. vit. Apoll. l. 1. c. 14.

by the traces of its name, if Posterity had kept them; but it hath been hidden under the names of *Phiſon* and *Paſitigris*, which ſpread themſelves, and covered it, as I ſhewed before.

Chap. XIII.

Continuation of the Explanation of the Thirteenth Verſe.

I. *The name of* Chus *is given to* Æthiopia, Arabia, *and* Suſiana. *Here is meant the laſt.* II. *Which in Scripture is ſtiled* Cutha, *and now-a-days*, Chuzeſtan. III. *We find ſome foot-ſteps of the word* Chus *in the names of the* Coſſeans *and* Ciſſians, *Inhabitants of* Suſiana. IV. *Why it was ſaid that* Memnon *was an* Æthiopian. V. *Of* Memnon's *Statue, which they ſaid ſpoke, when the riſing Sun ſhined upon it.* VI. *The truth of* Memnon's *Hiſtory.* VII. *Confirmed by the Teſtimony of ſome Ancients.*

I. Verſe

VErſe 13. *The ſame is it that compaſſeth the whole land of* Chus. This is the chiefeſt mark that *Moſes* gave us to know the *Gehon*; but this mark being peculiar, it will be as good as a thouſand more. That we may ſhew it, we muſt explain what is the meaning of *Chus*. I find three Provinces of that name, *Æthiopia*, *Arabia*, and *Suſiana*. Theſe two firſt divided the name of *Chus*, which is a general word, comprehending the Countries that are on both ſides of the *Arabian* Gulf, commonly called the *Red Sea*. *M. Bochart* pretended in his *Phaleg*, that *Æthiopia* is no where in Scripture called *Chus*; but I think I made good the contrary in my Obſervations on *Origen*. This Region of *Chus* or *Æthiopia*, was then divided into two parts, along both the ſides of the *Arabian* Gulf, and even beyond its mouth, called at preſent *Babelmandel*; the eaſterly one, which made a part of the great Peninſula of *Arabia*; and the weſterly, which is between that Gulf and the *Nile*. *Homer*, *Herodotus*, and ſome others divided in this manner the *Æthiopians* (who inhabited that Country, and were neighbours to *Egypt*) into eaſterly and weſterly: And *Euſtathius* tells us, the Ancients ſo underſtood the words

The name of Chus *is given to Æthiopia, Arabia, and Suſiana.*

The laſt is meant here.

Boch. Phal. l. 4. c. 2.

Homer. Odyſſ. d. Herod. Polymn. cap. 89. 70.

words of *Homer*. This is the reaſon why the *Homerites*, a People in *Arabia*, ſituated on the ſoutherly Coaſt, are called *Æthiopians* by *Stephanus* the Geographer. And *Holſtenius*, tho' he was a very learned Man, yet becauſe he knew not this, was groſly miſtaken, when he changed the words of *Stephanus* and put Ἀεσβων, inſtead of Ἀιθιοπων: according to that commendable Cuſtom of the Criticks, to alter in the Works of the Ancients, all what they do not underſtand. That part of the Province of *Chus*, that lies towards *Arabia*, did not extend it ſelf much from the Gulf, and from the Sea which is beyond the mouth of the Gulf, and was really a border; and there would be no reaſon to extend it to the eaſterly ſide of *Arabia*, and to the weſterly mouth of the *Euphrates*, in order to countenance the opinion that taketh that mouth for the *Gebon*. The Limits of the *Arabian Chus* were never extended ſo far, and it is a deciſive proof againſt that opinion concerning the *Gebon*; as on the contrary, if I make good that *Suſiana* had that name, and hath it ſtill at preſent, it will be a moſt evident proof that the *Gebon* is the eaſterly mouth of the *Euphrates*.

Steph. in Ὠμναί.

II. All

II. All the Journals of Travellers do inform us, that *Susiana* is now called *Chuzestan*, a name made up of the word *Chuz* and the *Persical* Termination. *Benjamin* of *Navarre* says, that the great Province of *Elam*, whereof *Susa* is the Metropolis, and which the *Tigris* waters, is called so. That Province of *Elam* is *Elymais*, which extendeth it self as far as the Coast of the *Persian* Gulf, at the East of the mouth of the *Euphrates*. The *Nubian* Geographer, and some other *Arabians* call it *Chuzestan*; but it is probably an oversight of the *Copiers* who did not distinguish the letter *r* from *z* of the *Arabians*, which only differ by one point. The Inhabitants of the Land call it absolutely *Chus*, if we will believe *Marius Niger*. The same Region is called *Cutha* in the Book of *Kings*, according to the variety of Dialects; and it is partly from thence that *Salmanasar* transported a Colony into *Samaria*, to fill the room of its Inhabitants and of the Ten Tribes, which he had turned out and sent into another place. This new Colony, which was afterwards known under the name of *Samaritans*, kept also the name of its origin, and was called the *Cutheans*. *Scaliger* with all his great Learning was grosly mistaken when

Which is called Cutha *in Scripture, and now* Chuzestan.

Mar. Nig. Comm. 5. 4. Reg. 17. 24.

Scalig. in Propert. l. 1. Eleg. 1.

when he ſaid that the *Samaritans* were called *Cutheans* from a City in *Colchis*, called *Cytæa*, whither *Salmanaſar* tranſported the Ten Tribes. The *Samaritans* were called *Cutheans*, from the Province *Cutha*, whence they came; and the Ten Tribes were not tranſported into *Colchis*, but into *Aſſyria*; and tho' they had been tranſported into *Colchis*, it would be ridiculous to think that the *Samaritans* have taken their name from a City whence they did not come, and where they did not live; but meerly becauſe the Ten Tribes, whoſe Country they poſſeſſed, went to live there. I know not where *Joſephus* found that River *Cuthus*, which he ſays, is the original of *Cutha*, a name given to that Province of *Perſia*. The word *Cutha* or *Cuth*, came from the word *Chus*, the laſt letter whereof is often changed by the *Chaldæans* into a *t* or *th*, giving it a harder and leſs whiſtling ſound, as *Dion* hath obſerved. So they ſaid *Thor* for *Sor*; *Attyria* for *Aſſyria*. Yet we muſt not give credit to what ſome Men imagined, that the name of the City of *Suſa*, which was the Metropolis of that Land, comes from *Chus*. It took its name from the Lilies whereof there is a great plenty in that Soil; and the Lily is called שושן *Suſan*

Joſeph. Ant. l. 9. c. 14.

Dion. Xiphil. Traj.

Susan in the Hebrew Tongue. The *Græcians* were not ignorant of that Etymology, and many amongst them observ'd it.

We find some foot-steps of the word Chus *in the names of the* Cosseans *and* Cissians *Inhabitants of* Susiana.

III. There are yet many other marks of the word *Chus* found in *Susiana*. We find there the *Cosseans*, neighbours to the *Uxians*, according to the Position of *Pliny*, *Ptolomy*, and *Arrian*. *Schickard* was under a mistake, when he supposed, that those *Cosseans* had given their name to the Province of *Chuzestan*. The name of *Chuzestan*, and that of the *Cosseans* come from the same root, to wit, from *Chus*, and not one from the other. The name of *Cissia* and of the *Cissians* come also from thence. It was a little Province of *Susiana*, which gave its name to all the *Susians*. The Poet *Æschylus* taketh also notice of a City of that name situated in the same Land; and which is remarkable, he doth distinguish it by its Antiquity. He calls also the Mother of *Memnon Cissia*, that is to say, *Aurora*. *Memnon* was the Son of *Tithonus* and *Aurora*. *Tithonus* was a Brother to *Priam* King of *Troy*, and he was thought to have founded the City of *Susa*, Metropolis of *Susiana*. From the name of *Memnon* his Son, the Citradel was called *Memnonium*, the Palace and Walls *Memnonians*; and *Susa* it self, the

Plin. l. 6. c. 27. Ptol. l. 6. c. 3 Tabul. 5. Asiæ. Arrian. Exped. Alex. l. 7. Schickard. in Tarich. Reg. Pers.

Æschyl. Pers. & Choëph. & apud Strab. l. 15.

City of *Memnon*, by reaſon of the great eſteem they had for him. It is that *Memnon* who came to ſuccour the *Trojans*, from whom he deſcended, and was ſlain by *Achilles*. When the *Græcians* feigned that he was Son of *Aurora*, they meant that he came from the Eaſt; according to a common expreſſion of the *Hebrew Tongue*, and very familiar to the Prophets, who call the People of the Eaſt, *Sons of the Eaſt*; for thoſe Countries which the *Euphrates* run through, towards its mouth were properly called the *Eaſt*. Many Interpreters think that in the ſame ſence *Iſaiah* called *Nabuchodonozor*, or *Balthaſar*, *Lucifer*, *Son of* Aurora.

Why it was ſaid that Memnon *was an Æthiopian.*

IV. I know very well that moſt of the ancient Authors ſaid, that *Memnon* was an *Æthiopian*. Their miſtake is a conſequence of that, by which *Chus*, that ſignifieth *Suſiana*, hath been confounded with *Chus*, that ſignifies the Countries ſituated on the ſhores of the *Arabian* Gulf, I mean *Æthiopia* and *Arabia*; and the *Gehon* with the *Nile*; thus one miſtake draws another after it, and when we once miſs the right way, all the following ſteps are but ſo many wanderings. The *Egyptians* and *Æthiopians* adopted very willingly that Hero, and thought it would be a great Honour to them, to have for their Countryman ſuch

such an illustrious Person. But finding nothing of it in their Archives, nor in their Histories, they put his Person, Name and Deeds, upon such of their Kings, whose Life was most like to his. *Amenophis* seemed to them very proper to serve their turn, tho' he lived long before the War of *Troy*. He had been warring in *Asia*, he had been in *Phrygia*, and had lived at *Susa*. This agreeableness and likeness of names betwixt *Memnon*, and *Amenophis*, seemed to them a sufficient ground to say, that they were one and the same. They built him Temples in many places, and especially in the great City *Thebes*; they offered him Sacrifices, and worshipped him as a God. They shewed in that City and other places, some Palaces which they called *Memnonians*, as were those of *Susa*. And there they set up to him that marvellous Statue, which made a merry and loud noise, when the Sun-rising shined upon it; and seemed to groan and shed Tears, when the night drew near. Many supposed it had been erected to *Amenophis*, or *Sesostris*. The Rabbi *Benjamin* tells a thing in the *Journal of his Voyage*, which perswades me, that the *Æthiopians* set up that Statue to imitate the *Susians*. He says that he went from *Catif*, and came in seven days to *Hacula*. Some learned Men hold

that *Haoula* is the Isle of *Ceilan*, contrary to all probability, since he could not have gone thither in seven days. He adds that it is situated on the entrance of that Country, where the Posterity of *Chus* worship the Sun; that they have upon their Altars some Circles or Globes like to that of the Sun, and that at the rising of the Sun those Globes turn with a great noise. I judge by that account, that those Nations were *Susians*, or their Off-spring, and that they learned of them the Art to make such *Solar-Statues*, which were a kind of *Talismans*, which some perswade themselves to be what the Scripture calls חַמָּנִים *Chammanim*; and there is no doubt but that of *Memnon* was of that kind.

Of the Statue of Memnon which they said spoke when the Sun-rising shined upon it.

V. No body is ignorant in what Honour and Veneration the Sun was amongst the *Persians*, *Assyrians*, *Babylonians*, and especially the *Sabians*, of whom I have spoken before. This People used to set up Statues to the Sun, and to the other Planets. They imagined the Stars did impart to them by their Influences the Faculty of Hearing, Speaking, and declaring to Men things to come. Their name *Sabians* signifies in the *Arabian* Tongue, *easterly*. The proof hereof is this. Their Book concerning Husbandry, (which the *Rabbins* quote under

under the name of the *eaſterly Book*) was intitled העבודה הנבטיה *Hababoda Hannabathiia, the Nabathean Husbandry*, that is to ſay *eaſterly*, witneſs this Verſe of *Ovid*'s:

Eurus ad Auroram, Nabathæáque Regna receſſit.

Eurus [*the Eaſt Wind*] *went toward* Aurora *and the* Nabathéan *Kingdoms.*

The *Sabians* were called *eaſterly*, becauſe all that Land which lieth betwixt the *Perſian* Gulf and *Judæa* was called the Eaſt, as I already ſaid. They dwelt at firſt in *Chaldæa*, and their Books ſay, that *Abraham* a *Chaldæan* by Birth, was perſecuted by one of their Kings, for not complying with the Religion that was in uſe in that Country, and refuſing to worſhip the Sun. They dwelt alſo farther below along the *Euphrates*, where they left ſome marks of their name behind them; for they call at preſent *Sabbi* the Chriſtians of St. *John*, that dwell about the City of *Baſſora*, which was built in the ſecond year of the *Hegira*, by *Omar* the ſecond *Caliph*, and is about two days Journey from the joining of the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, at the ſame diſtance from the Sea, and

betwixt the 30 and 31 degree. These *Sabians* spread themselves afterwards through all the East, and their name became at last the name of a Sect rather than of a Nation; and that Sect was still the same with that of the ancient *Chaldæans*. The learned *Rabbi Moses* Son of *Maimon*, meaning that *Abraham* had been bred up in the Land of the *Sabians*, says, that he had been bred up in the Land of *Cutha*, that is to say, in the Land of *Cous*, which is *Susiana*. And if, because the *Æthiopians* worshipped also the Sun, one should apply to them *Benjamin's* words, the distance of the places would not suffer it; for how could he have gone in seven days from *Catif* into *Æthiopia*? But besides that, the Series of his Narrative sheweth that he went towards the East, and *Æthiopia* lies on the West.

Strab. l. 17. *Strabo*, a Man of good Sense and very honest, having followed *Ælius Gallus* as far as *Thebes* in *Egypt*, saw and heard that Statue at the rising of the Sun. Yet he dares not affirm, that none of those that were present did imitate that noise, for the honour of their Country. *Germanicus* saw it also. *Pliny* says it was made out of a stone called *Basalta* by the *Egyptians*, because it hath the colour and hardness of Iron. That word is without question derived from the Hebrew בַּרְזֶל *Barzel*, which

Plin. l. 3. c. 7.

which signifies *Iron*; for the *Egyptian* Tongue had some affinity with the Hebrew.

VI. What we may most probably suppose concerning *Memnon*'s Expedition, may be taken out of * *Diodorus* and some others. The Kingdom of *Troy* was subject to the Empire of *Assyria*. *Tithonus* a Brother to *Priam* who possessed that Kingdom, went to the Court of the King of *Assyria*, who gave him the Government of *Susiana*. He married there, being already old; and because his Wife was of a Country situated on the East of *Græcia* and *Troy*, the *Græcians*, who used to turn all Histories into Fictions, said, that he had married *Aurora*. From that Marriage came *Memnon* and *Emathion*. The War of *Troy* coming afterwards, *Priam* begged some Succour of *Teutamus* King of *Assyria*. He granted him twenty thousand Men, and two hundred Chariots of War. *Diodorus* says that that Succor consisted of ten thousand *Æthiopians* and ten thousand *Susians*, falling into the common Error again, and confounding *Chus* of *Æthiopia*, with that of *Susiana*. In order to make this Succour more useful, *Teutamus* gave the command of it to *Memnon*, a young Prince of a *Trojan* Family, and therefore concerned in the Preservation of *Troy*. *The truth of* Memnon's *History.*

* Diodor. l. 2, & 4.

He kept *Tithonus* by him, by reason of his Wisdom, which made him very necessary in his Counsels, and by reason of his old Age unfit for that Expedition. *Memnon* found some resistance in his way. The *Solymi*, amongst others, who since were called *Pisidians*, would needs dispute his passage, but he routed them, and all that opposed him. He made all passages clean, he repaired the ways, and deserved by that long and dangerous march, that that high-way should have his name, and be called *Memnonian*. He very valiantly fought against the *Græcians* before *Troy*, but he was at last slain by *Achilles*. They talk very variously of the place of his burying; for without taking notice of *Philostratus*, who says he had no Grave, and was changed into that miraculous stone; *Troas*, *Phœnicia*, and *Susiana* contend for it amongst themselves; and above all *Æthiopia*; altho it hath no other claim to his burying, nor to his Birth, than that given it by the equivocation of the word *Chus*.

Phil. imag. lib. 1.

Confirmed by the Testimony of some Ancients.

* Philostr. vit. Apoll. l. 6. c. 3. & Heroic.
†Georg Syncell. p. 72. 151, 155, 166.
* Suid. in Μέμνων.

VII. But notwithstanding the Obscurity that equivocation brought into this History, * *Philostratus*, † *George Syncellus*, that is to say, *Coadjutor* of the Church of *Constantinople*, and **Suidas*, who had read and

and copied good Authors, tho' he often did it not very judiciouſly, give yet Teſtimony to truth; the firſt by ſaying that *Memnon* the *Æthiopian*, that is to ſay, *Amenophis*, never came to *Troy*, and was without ground confounded with *Memnon* the *Trojan*. And could not imagine how *Memnon* could have brought a Succour from ſo remote a Country to the *Trojans*, nor alſo by what chance *Tithonus* could have ſetled himſelf in *Æthiopia*, and become King of it. The ſecond by exactly diſtinguiſhing *Amenophis* King of *Thebes* in *Egypt*, (who is alſo called *Memnon*, and the ſpeaking ſtone) from *Memnon* Son of *Tithonus*, whom he places amongſt the Kings of *Aſſyria*; and *Suidas*, affirming that *Memnon* was no *Æthiopian*, but *Suſian*. *Pauſanias*, tho he was a Man of a very ſharp Wit, hath but partly ſolved that difficulty, ſaying, that *Memnon* the *Æthiopian* did not come from *Æthiopia* to *Troy*, but from *Suſa*. *Euſtathius* and the Scholiaſt of *Pindarus*, who is called *Triclinius*, write, that *Memnon* and *Emathion* his Brother, were the only white Men amongſt the *Æthiopians*, tho' *Virgil* and the others ſay, that *Memnon* was black. This Obſervation confirms my opinion, for altho' the Poets and makers of Romances have made bold to feign that *Andromeda* and

Pauſan. Phocic.

Euſtath. in Dionyſ Perieg. ver. 248. Schol. Triclin. adſcri. in Pind. Olymp. Od. 2 Virgil Æneid. l. 1.

Chariclæa were born White amongſt the Blacks, yet that is ſo ſingular and rare a thing in the ordinary courſe of Nature, that it is more reaſonable to think, that *Memnon* was White, becauſe he was really no *Æthiopian*.

CHAP. XIV.

Explanation of the Fourteenth Verſe.

I. Chiddekel, Diglath, *and* Tigris, *are the ſame name, and the ſame River.* II. *Frivolous Conjectures of the Ancients about the Etymology of the name of the River* Tigris. III. *The true Etymology of that name.* IV. *The* Chiddekel *is not the* Naharmalca.

Chiddekel, Diglath, and Tigris, *are the ſame name and the ſame River.*

I. THis River is the third in the order followed by *Moſes*, and ſuitable to its Situation when he made this deſcription. That order, and the name which the River beareth yet at preſent, make it pretty well known for the name of *Chiddekel* which *Moſes* gives it, that of *Tigris* which the *Europeans* give it, and that of *Diglath* which they give

give it in the *Levant*, are one and the same thing. This will surprize those who are ignorant of the Art of Etymologies, which is absolutely necessary in the use of good Literature, requireth great Learning, and the study whereof, *Quintilian* expresly recommends. I say then that from the Hebrew word חִדֶּקֶל *Chiddekel* came the word *Tigris* after this manner. The first letter, which is a hard Aspiration, is taken off, as in the word *Chaboras*, the name of a River in *Mesopotamia* mentioned by *Ptolomy*, which *Strabo* calleth *Aborras*; as in the word *Cham*, the name of *Noah*'s youngest Son, from whence came the *Egyptian* name *Ammun*, and the Greek *Ammon*, which was given to *Jupiter*; and as in the Greek word χλαῖνα, out of which the *Latins* made that of *Læna*. This Aspiration being then taken off from the word *Chiddekel*, it remains *Dekel*, the *D* whereof has been changed into a *T*, which often happeneth amongst letters of the same organ. So out of the Hebrew word אַשְׁדּוֹד *Asdod*, has been made *Azotus*; *jota* out of יוֹד *jod*; *Artaba*, out of the Syriack word *Ardab*; *Atergatis* out of *Derceto*; *Tenebræ* out of δνοφερὸν. The *k* of *Dekel* hath been changed into a *g*; as out of אַכְבָּר *Acbar*, has been made *Agbarus*; out of *Derceto*, *Atergatis*, which

Quintil. l. 1 c. 4 & 6.

Ptolom. l. 5. c. 18. Strab. l. 16.

I just now mentioned; out of *Acragas*, *Agrigentum*; out of *Caius* and *Cneius*, *Gaïus* and *Gneius*; out of *Curculio*, *Gurgulio*. The last letter of *Dekel* hath been changed into an *r*; as out of the Hebrew word *Belial*, the *Græcians* made Βελιάρ; as out of the *Chaldæan* word *Sarbal*, they made *Sarabara*; as the *Borax* hath been indifferently called *Tincal* and *Tincar*. And this old Verse of the Greek Comedy,

Aristoph. Vesp.

Ὁλᾷς θέωλος τὴν κεφαλὴν κόλακος ἔχει.

sheweth enough the affinity of *l* and *r*. By these Permutations of letters the original and derived words hold their mutual Correspondencies. Taking then away the Aspiration of the word *Chiddekel*, the word *Dekel* remained, which the *Syrians* disguised, and made *Diklat* out of it; *Josephus* and the *Chaldæan* Paraphrasts, the *Arabians* and the *Persians* turned it into *Diglath*; other modern Orientals into *Degil* and *Degela*; *Pliny*, or those who informed him, into *Diglito*; and the *Græcians* who gave to all strange words the turn and manner of their Tongue, into *Tigris*.

Vain Conjectures of the Ancients about the Etymology of the name of the River Tigris.

II. This evidently sheweth how frivolous are the Conjectures of the Ancients about the Etymology of the word *Tigris*.

Tigris. Some believed that this River was ſo called by reaſon of the ſwiftneſs of its Stream, like to that of the Beaſt of the ſame name; others derive the name of the River and of the Beaſt from that of the Arrow, which they ſay, is called *Tigris*, by the *Armenians*, *Medians*, and *Perſians*. We might confidently ſpeak of that Etymology, if the knowledge of the old *Perſian* Language was come unto us. Many words of it are paſſed into that which is now in uſe, and perhaps the word تير *Tejer* is of that number. It ſignifies *an Arrow*. That Etymology is not unlikely, for the *Tiger* which is the moſt nimble of all Beaſts, and the *Tigris* the ſwifteſt of all Rivers, could not be better compared than to an Arrow. It ſeems the Ancients have affected to expreſs the rapidity of that River, by the words ὀξύτης and ὀξὺς, which ſignifie *ſharp pointed* and *ſwift*; as having hereby a mind to mark the Etymology of the word *Tigris*, from the Arrow, which is ſwift and ſharp pointed. Upon the ſame account *Diodorus* compared the *Nile* to an Arrow, by reaſon of its ſwiftneſs. So the River *Acis* in *Sicily* got that name, which ſignifieth the point of an Arrow, by reaſon of the ſwiftneſs of its Stream. Diod. l. 1.

It

It ſeems alſo that for the ſame reaſon the *Tigris* was called *Sollax*, or *Sulax*, which ſome Authors take notice of, and render by καταφερὴς, that is to ſay, *that violently runneth down*. That word, as I gueſs, comes from the ſame Etymology as that of the Torrent *Siloë*; I mean from שָׁלַח that is to ſay, *driven away, ſent, ſhot as an Arrow*; for the word שֶׁלַח, which comes from the ſame origin, ſignifies a *Dart*. The *Arabian* word سيلحر *Taijarun*, which has ſome affinity with the *Perſian Tojor*, a little afore mentioned, hath a ſignification which is ſuitable to our ſubject. It ſignifies *a Stream*; it ſignifies alſo, *that which runneth with rapidity*; which is agreeable enough with the nature of the *Tigris*.

Plin. l. 6. c. 27. Solin c. 37. The miſtake of *Pliny* and of *Solinus* who made an abſtract out of him, is very remarkable above all others, when they ſay, that the *Tigris* is called *Diglito* at the beginning of its Stream, when it runs ſlowly, but is called *Tigris* when it is become ſwifter. It is called *Tigris* at the very head, as

Strab. l. 11. *Strabo* aſſures us, and the names of *Tigris* and *Diglito* are but one and the ſame thing.

III. I ſay

III. I say besides that all those Conjectures are vain. We must look for the true root of the word *Tigris* in the Hebrew word *Chiddekel*; and that word is made up of two Hebrew words חַדָּה *Chadda*, *sharp pointed*, derived from the Verb חָדַד *Chadad*, *to be sharp-pointed*; and of קַל *swift*, *light*, derived from the Verb קָלַל *Kalal*, *to be swift and light*. And it seems the *Græcians* had more respect to this Etymology than to any other, when they expressed the swiftness of that River by the word ὀξύτης. *Josephus* hath in a manner acknowledged it, when he said, Δίγλαθ, ὃς ἑρμηνεύεται τὸ μὴ σφοδρῶς ὀξύ. This place must be corrected and read thus, ὃ ἑρμηνεύεται, that is to say, *Diglath*, *which is expounded*, *narrow and nimble*. But we must not look upon *Josephus* as a great Master of the Hebrew Tongue. The *Rabbins* have spoken more exactly than *Josephus*, and deduced that word from its true origin. That which *Moses Barcepha* proposes is not to be rejected; he derives *Chiddekel* from the *Chaldæan*, דִּקְלָא, *Dekal*, which signifies to boil, and perhaps the place of *Hesychius* must be referred to it, Τίγρης, ὁ τῆ ποταμῶ ῥοῖζος, that is to say, that the word *Tigris* signifies the *noise* made by the impetuosity of a River. Other Rivers

The true Etymology of that name.

Joseph. Ant. l. 1. c. 2

Mos. Barc. De Parad. c. 18.

Rivers besides this have been called *Tigris*, and probably for the same reason.

Chiddekel *is not the* Naharmalca.

IV. It is in vain then, that some learned Men, but withall conceited, being not able to fit their Preconceptions to things, endeavour to fit things to their Preconceptions. They fansied that what *Moses* calls here *Chiddekel*, is the *Naharmalca*, one of the Canals through which the *Euphrates* runneth into the *Tigris*; and which was made long after *Moses* by hands. Besides that the Waters of the *Euphrates*, being much above the Waters of the *Tigris*, as I have shewed, makes it evident that those natural or artificial Chanels, being but parts of the *Euphrates*, cannot have been taken for the *Tigris*; and that one cannot pretend to perswade us without proofs, that the *Tigris* is not the *Tigris*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

Continuation of the Explanation of the fourteenth Verſe.

I. *The Hebrew word* קִדְמַת Kidmath *cannot ſignifie in this place, on the Eaſt.* II. *In what ſence it ought to be taken, that the* Tigris *goeth towards* Aſſyria.

I. VErſe 14. *That is it which goeth towards* Aſſyria. There are two opinions upon this place. The word קִדְמַת *Kidmath* is the occaſion thereof. Some will have it to be a Prepoſition, which ſignifies *towards*, *on the ſide of*; others an Adverb of *place*, which ſignifies *on the Eaſt*. The Seventy Interpreters; almoſt all thoſe who followed their Tranſlation, and St. *Jerom* in the vulgar Tranſlation, are for the firſt opinion. The *Chaldæan* Paraphraſts; moſt of the *Rabbins* and *Hebricians* are for the ſecond. The modern Commentators have taken part ſuitable to their opinions. I am ſurpriſed at this difference of opinions; for if they had conſidered the ſituation of *Aſſyria* and the running of the

The Hebrew word קִדְמַת *Kidmath cannot ſignifie in this place on the Eaſt.*

the *Tigris*, the difficulty would be easily assoiled. The word *Assyria*, may be taken either in a narrow, or in a more large sence. In the narrow sence *Assyria* was a small Province, whereof *Ninive* was the chief Town; and it is that Province which hath since been called *Adiabene*. In the more large sence, *Assyria* did comprehend many great Provinces belonging to the Kings of *Assyria*, and which made up their Empire. It happened to this State, as to *France*, that the most ancient part of the Empire gave its name to the others, which afterwards were joined to it. In what sence soever you take *Assyria*, it is certain the *Tigris* was not on the East in respect to it. Except you take it for *Syria*, as some *Grecian* Authors have done; but one must be very ignorant of ancient History, to think that *Moses* had taken it in that sence; since the name of *Syria* is but modern, and came from the Hebrew name of *Tyre*, which was the chief Town of it, and best known to the *Grecians*: And on the contrary the name of *Assyria* comes from the Hebrew word *Assur*. We may truly say that the *Tigris* runneth through *Assyria*, when under the name of *Assyria*, we comprehend *Mesopotamia*, *Syria*,

Syria, and a part of *Arabia*. But that word was not taken in so large a sence, but long after *Moses*, who could not have understood by the name of *Assyria*, only a very small parcel of Land about *Ninive*. And this we may suppose, the *Arabian* Interpreter meant, when he said, the *Tigris* runneth to the East of *Mausal*. *Mausal* is a City in *Mesopotamia* situated on the sides of the *Tigris*, over against the place, where the ancient *Ninive* stood; and it is true that the *Tigris* runs on the East of that City. But he mistook, when he took *Mausal* for *Ninive*, for though they be almost always taken one for the other, nevertheless the one lies on the East of the River, and the other on the West. I cannot then see upon what ground it may be said, that the *Tigris* goeth towards the East of *Assyria*.

II. *Calvin* was sensible of the weight of this Objection, and in order to shun it, he translated, *C'estuy-là vers l'orient & Assyrie*, *that* (goeth) *toward the East and Assyria*, which is contrary to the Hebrew Text, where this conjunction is not found; nor the Prepositions neither, which some inserted, translating thus; *On the East*, *towards Assyria*. We must then return to the Tran-

In what sence it ought to be taken, that the Tigris *goeth towards* Assyria.

Tranſlation of the Seventy Interpreters, and tranſlate thus, *which goeth toward Aſſyria.* And we muſt not think that *Moſes* ſaid the *Tigris* goeth toward *Aſſyria* in reſpect to the Spring of that River, or to the running of its Waters, but in regard to the Situation of the Earthly Paradiſe, and to the diſpoſition of the Chanel of the *Tigris*: As when he ſaid, *That a River went out of* Eden *to water the Garden, and from thence it was parted and became into four heads*, he had the ſame regard, both to the Situation of Paradiſe, and to the diſpoſition of the Chanel of the *Tigris*.

CHAP. XVI.

Continuation of the Explanation of the fourteenth Verſe.

I. *Falſe Etymologies of the name of the* Euphrates. II. *The true Etymology of that name.* III. *Vertue attributed to the Waters of the* Euphtates.

Falſe Etymologies of the name of the Euphrates.

I. VErſe 14. *And the fourth River is Euphrates. Moſes* affixed no mark of diſtinction on that River, becauſe

cauſe it could not be confounded with the others, which he had already made known; and its largeneſs and neighbourhood rendred it known enough in the places and amongſt the Nations to whom he did write; that River kept its name better than the others. 'Tis a miſtake to think that the name of the *Euphrates* is made up of its Hebrew name פְּרָת *Perath*, and of the Pronoun הוּ *hu*, which are put together in this place: Yet it hath been thought ſo by many learned Men. The *Græcians* changed *Perath* into *Euphrates*, adjuſting that word as well, as all other ſtrange words, to the genius of their Tongue, as if it was derived from the word Εὐφραίνειν, which ſignifies *to rejoyce*, by reaſon of the pleaſantneſs the *Euphrates* bringeth into all the places through which it runneth. This Etymology hath been accepted by many, as St. *Ambroſius* obſerved. It may be alſo, that having read that this River was called ſo, by reaſon of its Fertility, they derived it from the word Εὐφορος, *fertile, fruitful*, and adjuſted its name to it. They perhaps minding none of theſe Etymologies, made *Euphrates* out of *Perath*; as out of *Tabor* they made *Atabyrius*; out of *Derceto*, *Atergatis*. After the ſame manner the *French* Tongue,

Ambroſ. De Parad. c. 3.

Tongue, as well as the *Æolick* Dialect loves to begin many words with *E*, which is not found in their root; out of σίγη we make *étage*; out of *Spiritus*, *Esprit*. The *Hebrews* themselves have added one *u* to the word *Paz*, which is the name of the Land of *Ophir*, and called it *Uphaz*.

The true Etymology of that word.

II. The true root of the word *Euphrates* is the Hebrew פָּרָת *Parah*, which signifies *to increase*; and in the conjugation *Hiphil*, *to make fruitful*, because that River by its swellings and overflowings bringeth Fertility into all the places through which it runs. This is the opinion of St. *Jerom*, of most of the Fathers, of the Interpreters of Scripture, and of the *Rabbins*. I pass over many other Etymologies of this word, which Authors do propose, to consider that of *Josephus*. He writes the Hebrew name ευφρὰς, pronouncing it after the *Arabian* manner, and he expoundeth it εὐφραίνων ἢ ἄνθος, *a dispersing* or *a flower*, deriving it from the Verb פּוּר *Pur*, which signifies amongst other things, *to dissipate*, by reason of the *draining*, and as it were, of the *dissipating* of the Waters of the *Euphrates*; or from the Verb פָּרַח *Parach*, *to flourish*, *to grow out*, because its Waters make every thing to flourish and grow out in the Soils through

Hieron. De nomin. Hebr.

Joseph. Ant. l. 2. c. 2.

through which they run. One ſhould wonder that a Jew could make uſe of ſo far-fetched Etymologies, ſince there was one ſo near, and ſo natural, I mean that of פְּרָת *Parah*, if we did not know, that he had no great skill in the Hebrew Tongue.

III. As for the reſt, as the People attributed to the *Ganges* and *Nile* the virtue of Sanctifying the Souls, they alſo attributed to the *Euphrates* that of reſtoring Health to the Bodies. The *Arabians* value ſo much the Waters of that River, that they drink them for all kinds of Sickneſſes, and they think it even to be an infallible Remedy againſt the Plague, a Virtue which they got in the Earthly Paradiſe. And becauſe the ſame Effect is attributed to the River *Hyphaſis*, *Philoſtorgius* took that effect for a proof that it was the *Phiſon*, and came alſo out of Paradiſe.

Virtue attributed to the Waters of the Euphrates.

Philoſtorg. l. 3. c. 10.

CHAP.

Chap. XVII.

Some other Proofs to confirm my Opinion about the Situation of the Earthly Paradiſe.

I. *Another Proof, that the Earthly Paradiſe was ſituated on the place that I marked, taken from the Plentifulneſs and Beauty of that Land.* II. *And becauſe it hath been the firſt Land inhabited.* III. *True ſignification of the Hebrew word* נוד Nod. IV. *What were the Columns of the Poſterity of* Seth. V. *We may alſo conjecture where Paradiſe was ſituated from the place where the Ark of* Noah *reſted.*

Another proof, that the Earthly Paradiſe was ſituated on the place that I marked, taken from the Plentifulneſs and Beauty of that Land.

I. HAving hitherto endeavoured to diſcover the Situation of the Earthly Paradiſe, from the Deſcription that *Moſes* left us of it, we may yet find ſome other Signs, which will help us to know it. Such is the Fruitfulneſs of the Country, and the Goodneſs of its Soil, which ſeemeth ſtill to keep ſome Remainders of that Bleſſing God poured upon

upon it. For, that Plentifulness was partly Supernatural, and partly Natural. *Moses* informs us, that God in order to make Paradise, *caused to grow out of the Ground every Tree that is pleasant to the sight and good for Food.* Gen. 2. 9. And in another place, having a mind to express the Pleasantness and Fertility of the Soil of *Sodom* before its Desolation, he compareth it to the Paradise of God: Gen. 13. 10. Whether he only meant a Garden of an extraordinary Beauty, according to an Hebraism very ordinary in the Sacred Writ, as some think; or the Earthly Paradise, according to the most common opinion. And there is no doubt to be made, but that place, framed by the hands of God in a supernatural manner, hath been the pattern, out of which the profane Poets formed their *Fortunate Islands, the Elysian Fields, the Meadows of Plato, the Gardens of the Hesperides, of Adonis, Jupiter, and Alcinous.* And when *Xenophon* described those fair Gardens, which were called *Paradises*, he made use of the same words, that *Moses* imployed to describe the Earthly Paradise. But besides the Ornaments wherewith the hand of God did adorn it in an extraordinary manner, we cannot reasonably think, that God having resolved to set the first

Man in a delicious place, had made choice of a barren and unfruitful Soil, or of ſome horrid Wilderneſs, rather than of a plentiful Country, and already beautified and inriched, ſince the beginning of the World. Now not only *Meſopotamia* and *Cæleſyria*, but alſo *Babylonia*, which extended it ſelf to the *Perſian* Gulf, and a good part of *Syria*, were then the pleaſanteſt and richeſt Countries in the World. So that the Fruitfulneſs of the Gardens of *Syria*, the great care that People took for their Culture, and the great Plenty of their Pulſe and Pot-herbs, are grown into a Proverb. And that I may not go far from the Region where I placed Paradiſe, beginning at the Confluence of the *Tigris* and *Euphrates* (which happened near the City of *Apamea*, according to *Ptolomy*) unto their mouth, their ſides, (as well towards *Suſiana*, as towards *Arabia*) are every way as Beautiful and Fertile as any other Country in *Aſia*. I do not mean that thoſe Delights are found there, which the hand of God did ſpread to form Paradiſe; nor all thoſe that the labour of Men can procure: I only mean that the Ground is extraordinary good, and that Nature made it capable of all kind of Culture; though it be true that it very

very ſeldom Rains there, and that its Plentifulneſs is meerly owing to the Goodneſs of its Soil, and to the Rivers that water it. This we learn from the old and new Hiſtorians and Geographers; and without producing here a long Series of Quotations, it will ſuffice to ſay, that by reaſon of thoſe Delights and Beauties, the Province where Paradiſe ſtood was called *Eden*, that is to ſay, *Pleaſure*; the name of the Iſland *Chader*, formed by the *Phiſon* and *Gehon*, declareth its beauty; *Chadaron* حصر and حصير *Chadiron*, in the *Arabian* Tongue ſignifies, *green*, *pleaſant to the ſight*. The other Iſland called *Gezair*, that is to ſay, *the Iſland*, by way of excellency, which lies immediately above the coming together of the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, is in no-wiſe leſs beautiful than *Chader*. The *Neſtorians* gave it the name of *Eden*; whether they did ſo by reaſon of its pleaſantneſs, or becauſe they knew that the Province of *Eden* was there, and extended it ſelf as far as that Iſland. I find yet a third Iſland in thoſe parts, renowned for its pleaſantneſs. It is the Soil about *Baſſora*, which is incloſed between two little Rivers made by the

Induſtry of Men. One is called the River of *Abulla*, and the other the River of *Mocali*. There are four places in *Aſia*, which for their pleaſantneſs ſake the Inhabitants call, *the Gardens of the World*, and are in the ſame repute amongſt them, as the *Tempe* of *Theſſaly* were amongſt the *Græcians*. One is in *Perſia*, and its name is, *the River of Bavan*; the other is in *Bactriana*, near *Samarcanda*; the third is, *the Orchard of Damaſcus*; and the fourth is, the Territory of *Baſſora*, which they call, *the River of Abulla*. It is aſſuredly that Iſland which the *Indian Pilpay* in his *Book of Lights*, deſcribes and repreſents about *Baſſora*, ſo delightful, covered with a very pleaſant Wood, injoying an extraordinary good and ſweet Air, and watered by many Springs, the Rills whereof make many turnings. All the Country that lies between the Iſlands of *Chader* and *Gezair*, which is the Land of the Earthly Paradiſe, is as pleaſant and beautiful as thoſe Iſlands themſelves. For Travellers aſſure us, that the Grand Seignior hath no better Countries, than thoſe that lie betwixt *Bagdad* and *Baſſora*. And if there remain ſome untilled and barren, that muſt be imputed to the ſolitude of the Land, or to the Idleneſs of the Inhabitants.

II. My

II. My opinion about the Situation of the Earthly Paradiſe, may yet be ſolidly proved from this, becauſe it was the firſt Land inhabited. We have very few marks of it left, but thoſe that are left, ſufficiently agree to make it good. The firſt is that City built by *Cain* on the Eaſt of *Eden*, and to which he gave the name of his Son *Enoch*. *Ptolemy* in the deſcription of *Suſiana*, places a City called *Anuchtha*, exactly on the Eaſt of the place where I ſet Paradiſe. It is known that the Syllable *tha*, which endeth that word, is a Termination pretty ordinary to the Feminine Nouns in the *Chaldaick* Tongue, and is no part of the names themſelves. It then only remains *Anuch*, which is without difficulty the ſame thing as *Enoch*. And ſo here is certainly the moſt ancient City in the World.

And becauſe it hath been the firſt Land inhabited.

Gen. ch. 2. v. 16, 17.

Ptol. l 6. c 3 & Tab. 5. Aſiæ.

III. There is no remains left of the word *Nod*, which is thought to have been the name of the Land where *Cain* retired, and where he built that City of *Anuchtha*, and it is not certain that the words of the Hebrew Text ought to be tranſlated thus, *and he lived in the Land of* Nod, or according to the Seventy Interpreters, *in the Land of Naid*; and that from the word נָד *Nad*, which is tranſlated *Vagabond*, ſuch as

The true meaning of the Hebrew word נוֹד Nod.

was *Cain*, the Land where he retired took its name; as it was fansied that *Latium* was called so from the word *Lateo, I am hidden*, because *Saturn* did hide himself there, when he was turned out of Heaven. I had rather follow St. *Jerom*'s opinion, who rejects that Translation, and I am apt to believe that *Nod* in this place doth only signifie *a Fugitive*, one that is banished, which expresseth the condition wherein *Cain* was. I would not add to that Exposition, as St. *Jerom* doth, πλάνης, *Vagabond*, for this does not agree with a Man that fixes his dwelling by building a City to inhabit it, and the word נָע *Nah*, which *Moses* adds to that of נָד, and is rendred *Vagus* in the vulgar Translation, may signifie, *inwardly moved and agitated*. The Seventy Interpreters understood it so, translating, στένων καὶ τρέμων, *sighing and trembling*. And it may be also that St. *Jerom* meant nothing else by the word πλάνης.

Hieron. Quæst. Hebr. in Gen.

Gen. 14. 12, 14.

What were the Columns of the Posterity of Seth.

IV. * *Josephus* doth relate that the Posterity of *Seth*, knowing by *Adam*'s Predictions, that the World should first perish by Water, and then by Fire, and being desirous that After-ages should know the Discoveries they had made in Astronomy, they ingraved them upon two Columns, one of Stone to

* Joseph. Ant. l. 1. c. 3

resist

reſiſt the Water, the other of Brick to reſiſt the Fire; and that they placed thoſe Columns in *Syrias*, Κατὰ τὴν Συειάδα. I formerly very much troubled my ſelf, to diſcover what was that *Syrias*, and to find the two Columns there. *M. Voſſius* was more lucky than I, and he ſhewed that *Joſephus* calleth *Syrias*, the place which is called *Sebirath* in the Book of *Judges*. That place was in *Gilgal* in the Territory of *Jericho*, and there was ſome ingraved Figures to be ſeen there. Thoſe Figures are called הַפְּסִילִים *Happeſilim*, in the Hebrew Text; τὰ γλυπτὰ, by the Seventy Interpreters. It is very likely, that thoſe Ingravings were the Aſtronomical Tables, which were ſaid to have been ingraved upon Stones by the Poſterity of *Seth*. And from thence one might infer that *Adam* and his Poſterity had dwelt in *Judæa*, as many Fathers of the Church believed, which would not agree with our Syſtem. But it is a meer Fable to adſcribe the Fabrick of thoſe Columns to the Poſterity of *Seth*, and to think them even older than the Deluge. It was rather a work of the ancient Inhabitants of the Land of *Canaan*, who had a great Skill in Aſtronomy, following in this the Example and Inſtructions of the

Voſſ. de ætate Mundi. c. 10.

Jud. 3. 27, 19.

Egyptians and *Chaldæans* their Neighbours, Nations whom the nature of their flat and open Country had invited to the Contemplation of Stars, and which a very long uſe had rendred very learned in it. They alſo after the *Egyptians* example ingraved their Science upon Stones, that the Memory and Profit of it might be communicated to Poſterity; and thoſe Inſcriptions both of the *Cananæans* and *Egyptians* gave occaſion to many Fables. Nothing then can be concluded from thoſe Columns, whereby the dwelling-place of the firſt Men might be known.

We may alſo conjecture where Paradiſe was ſituated, from the place where the Ark of Noah reſted.

V. But one may at leaſt gueſs at it, from the place where the Ark reſted after the Deluge. *Moſes* ſays that it reſted on the Mountains of *Ararat*, that is to ſay, according to the beſt Interpreters, on the *Gordiæan* Mountains, which lie near the Spring of the *Tigris*, and great *Armenia*; and extended pretty far to the Eaſt, and to the South towards *Aſſyria*. Now ſince the Deluge was not only cauſed by Rains, but alſo by the Overflowings of the Ocean, as the Scripture tells us, ſaying, that all the *Fountains of the great deep were broken up*; this overflowing which came from the *Perſian* Sea commonly very

Gen. 7.11.

boiſter-

boiſterous in that Gulf, running from the South and meeting the Ark about the place where I ſet Paradiſe, carried it away to the North towards the *Gordiæan* Mountains, whoſe Meridian is not far from that of Paradiſe. To which if you add the Violence of the rainy Winds of the South, which probably blew then, and contributed to the moving of the Waters, it will be very eaſie to conceive, that the Ark, by reaſon of its Figure, not fit for Navigation, and of its heavineſs which made it to draw much Water, went but one League and a half a day towards the North. For if it be ſo, we ſhall find that going from the place where *Ptolomy* ſets the City of *Aracca*, which I think Paradiſe was ſituated, it muſt have advanced as far as the *Gordiæan* Mounts, within a hundred and fifty days, which is the time the Deluge laſted.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Objections are anſwered.

I. *Firſt Objection.* II. *Second Objection.* III. *Third Objection.* IV. *Fourth Objection.*

Firſt Objection.

I. WE are now to anſwer the Objections which have been made againſt *Calvin* and *Scaliger*'s opinion, in what they agree with ours, and thoſe that can be made againſt us. It hath firſt been objected that that River formed by the coming together of the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, called at preſent the River of the *Arabians*, entereth into the *Perſian* Gulf only through one mouth; from whence it follows, that the two Chanels of its diviſion, which I would have to be the *Phiſon* and the *Gehon*, are two imaginary Chanels. I already ſhewed, by the Authority of ancient Writers and modern Travellers, the Falſeneſs of that Objection. The occaſion of this Errour was, becauſe that River in dividing it ſelf, encloſeth a pretty large extent of Land, called formerly *Meſſene*, and now *Chader*.

Chader. If we look upon that Land only as upon an Iſland ſituated in the midſt of the mouth of the River, one may truly ſay, that the River hath but one mouth; but it will be yet more true to ſay, that this mouth being divided by a great Iſland above fourſcore Leagues long, as *Teixeira* who was an Eye-witneſs aſſures it, and above one degree wide, according to the Delineation of *Ptolomy*'s Maps, is made up of two Branches very diſtant from one another, having each of them their particular mouth. So that that River hath one or two mouths, according to the divers manners of conſidering them. It hath but one mouth, ſeparated by a very great Iſland; or it hath two mouths, *viz.* thoſe of the two branches, into which it is divided.

II. They object in the ſecond place, that thoſe two Branches are no different Rivers from the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, ſince they come out of them, and by conſequence that we do not ſet forth the four Rivers which came out of Paradiſe, as the words of *Moſes* ſeem to require. But it is plain that this is but a queſtion of names only, it is no new thing that a River changeth its name in dividing it ſelf. One might very well ſay of the City of *Cologne*, that it

Second Objection.

it is watered by a River, which divides it ſelf into four Heads, *viz.* the *Moſel*, the *Rhine*, the *Yſſel* and the *Vabal*.

Third Objection. III. The third Objection is yet more Frivolous than the former. What *Moſes* calls Heads, muſt be underſtood, ſay they, of the Springs of the four Rivers, and not of their Extremities on the places of their joining and parting. They do not allow that the Hebrew word רָאשִׁים *Raſchim*, which *Moſes* makes uſe of, that of ἀρχαὶ, in the Seventy Interpreters, and that of *Capita* in the vulgar Tranſlation, doth ſignifie Fountains. There are in thoſe Tongues proper words to ſignifie Fountains, and there is no reaſon to think that *Moſes* and his Tranſlators ſhould not have made uſe of thoſe proper words, inſtead of ambiguous ones. Thoſe they made uſe of ſignifie new entrances into divers Chanels of Rivers, in regard to the Situation of the Earthly Paradiſe. But this hath been already ſaid.

Fourth Objection. IV. Let us come to the laſt Objection that can be made againſt our Opinion, and is the moſt rational. Many ancient Authors witneſs that the *Euphrates* entred formerly into the Sea by a peculiar mouth; but that the *Arabians* called *Scenites*, and many other Nations

Nations that dwell along that River, having by a great many cuttings diverted it into their dry Soils, have at laſt weakned it ſo much, that it was not able to get into the Sea, but loſt it ſelf in Meers. It ran towards the Weſt, and *Arabia*, between the place where *Moſes* was writing his Pentateuch, and the Chanel which I call *Phiſon*. From whence it follows, that when *Moſes* mentioned the *Euphrates*, he could mean nothing elſe than that Chanel, which then was the true *Euphrates*, and had not yet been exhauſted by cuttings, and which could not be taken for one of the four Heads, that I ſuppoſe he hath ſpoken of. And it alſo follows, that in the Enumeration he made of the four Rivers, and which I ſuppoſe he begun with the neareſt to him, he ought to have begun with the *Euphrates*. I already obviated this objection, when I ſaid it was moſt probable that that Chanel of the *Euphrates*, which fell into the Sea by a peculiar mouth, was nothing but a turned part of the body of thoſe Waters, which the *Arabians* ſtole from that River to water their Soils, and that thoſe People at laſt dried up that Chanel by their continual diverting of its Waters. Art having

having been thus deſtroyed by Art, things have been reſtored to the State in which they were in *Moſes*'s time. It is alſo perhaps nothing elſe but a Torrent cauſed by the Overflowings of the *Euphrates*, which ſometimes went as far as the Sea, and ſometimes ſtaid by the way. It went as far as the Sea, when thoſe Overflowings filled the Cuttings and the Meers made by the coming together of the Waters of thoſe Cuttings; and it ſtaid by the way, when the Overflowing of *Euphrates* had ceaſed. But though this Canal ſhould be as old as the Earthly Paradiſe, our opinion would ſubſiſt, provided we be ſure, as we moſt certainly are upon the Teſtimony of Antiquity, and by the natural diſpoſition of places, that the *Euphrates* was joined with the *Tigris*. For although that branch of the *Euphrates* were ſituated between *Arabia Petræa*, where *Moſes* was writing, and the Chanel which I ſuppoſe to be the *Phiſon*, it was poſſible that *Moſes* had no regard to it, and only conſidered the four Rivers that did belong to his deſcription.

CHAP.

Chap. XIX.

Recapitulation of all this Treatiſe.

I. *God planted a Garden in* Eden *Eaſtward.* II. *A River went out of* Eden, *to water the Garden.* III. *It divided it ſelf and became into four heads.* IV. *The firſt is the* Phiſon. V. *That watereth the Land of* Chavilah, *fertile in Gold*; VI. *In Pearls, and* Bdellium; *in* Onyx, *and in all ſorts of precious Stones.* VII. *The ſecond River is the* Gehon, *which waters the Country of* Chus. VIII. *The third is the* Tigris, *which goeth towards* Aſſyria. *And the fourth is the* Euphrates. IX. *All the tokens whereby* Moſes *marked the Situation of Paradiſe, can be applied to none but to that which I propoſed.* X. *The queſtion about the Situation of the Earthly Paradiſe doth not concern Faith.*

I. I Think I have done what I propoſed to my ſelf, and have ſo lidly made good that the Earthly Paradiſe *God planted a Garden in* Eden *Eaſtward.*

Paradiſe was ſituated on the River made by the coming together of the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, and now called the River of the *Arabians*, between that coming together, and the dividing of the ſame River, before its entring into the *Perſian* Sea. But becauſe the proofs I produced, being ſcattered, may perhaps make the leſſer impreſſion upon the Reader's mind, they will perſwade him better, if they are joined, and ſhew themſelves altogether to him. *Moſes* then ſays, *That God planted a Garden in* Eden. We find a Province of that name along that River, and towards the place that I marked. That Province deſerved the name of *Eden*, which ſignifies *Pleaſure*, by reaſon of its Pleaſantneſs and Fertility. Although moſt part of it is not cultivated now a-days, it nevertheleſs ſeems to retain yet ſome marks of the bountiful hand of God in the goodneſs of its Soil. That Garden was ſituated *Eaſtward*, that is to ſay, in the eaſterly part of the Land of *Eden*, on both ſides of the River. This may alſo ſignifie that eaſterly ſide, which in the whole extent of the running of the *Tigris*, had the name of *Kedem*, that is to ſay *Eaſt*, as a Proper, and not as an Appellative name. Even as the Lands ſituated

on

on the weſterly ſide, had the proper name of *Ereb*, that is to ſay *Weſt*, from whence *Arabia* took its name. So that *Moſes* would give us to underſtand, that Paradiſe, at leaſt its greateſt and chiefeſt part, was placed on the eaſterly ſide of the River. Beſides the natural goodneſs of that Country, God beautified it in an extraordinary manner, to make Paradiſe out of it, in making *grow out of the ground every Tree that is pleaſant to the ſight and good for food.*

II. *That River went out of* Eden *to water the Garden*; that is to ſay, that having ran through that Province, it entred into the Garden; which being at the Eaſt of *Eden*, the River at the place where it entred into the Garden, muſt have run from the Weſt to the Eaſt; and by conſequence it muſt have been ſituated upon one of the turnings of the River, which runs that way. And ſince it makes no turning more conſiderable, between its joining, and dividing, than that great one which is to be ſeen in *Ptolomy*'s Maps, it is the moſt likely thing in the World, that Paradiſe was placed on the eaſterly end of the ſoutherly branch of that turning. The modern Maps do not repreſent it; but we

A River went out of Eden *to water the Garden.*

we muſt not forget that the Art and Induſtry of Men brought conſiderable Alterations to the running of thoſe Rivers. They mark this drawing a little from the Weſt to the Eaſt, between the coming together of the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, and the City of *Baſſora*. Though the running of the Waters had been diſpoſed ſo ſince the time of the Earthly Paradiſe, and not according to the ancient Maps, it would yet agree with *Moſes*'s deſcription.

It divided it ſelf and became into four heads.

III. This River being conſidered in reſpect to the Garden, according to the diſpoſition of its Chanel, and not according to the running of its Waters, *divided it ſelf and was* parted, not into four Springs, as ſome Interpreters believed, but *into four heads*, that is to ſay, into four entries or apartures of four different branches. Theſe four branches were four Rivers; two above in regard to the running of the Water, *viz.* the *Euphrates* and the *Tigris*; two below, *viz.* the *Phiſon* and the *Gehon*.

The firſt was the Phiſon.

IV. *Moſes* who was writing theſe things in *Arabia Petræa*, intending to make an enumeration of thoſe Rivers, in order to declare the Situation of the Earthly Paradiſe, hath begun it with

with the *Phiſon*, which I ſay is the more weſterly Chanel of the two into which the River is divided, before its entring into the Sea; becauſe it was the very next to the place where he was writing, and preſented it ſelf firſt to his Mind, as it had preſented it ſelf firſt to his Eyes and Feet, if he had gone that way. And ſeeing that firſt River being once known, the others would be eaſily known, he affixed more marks upon it; and thoſe marks are peculiar to it, and can fit no other.

V. The firſt mark is, that that River *is it which compaſſeth the whole Land of Chavilah*: From the knowing of that Land depends the knowledge of the *Phiſon*, and there can be no queſtion, but it is that which lies on the northern end of the eaſterly Coaſt of *Arabia*, that is on the weſterly ſide of the mouth of the *Euphrates* and *Tigris*. The Scripture exactly marks the Situation of it, when it mentions *Chavilah* and *Sur*, as the two Extremities of *Arabia* adjacent to the *Holy Land*. For *Sur* lying at the entrance of *Egypt*, toward the extremity of the *Arabian* Gulf, it follows that *Chavilah* was on the other ſide of *Arabia*, at the

That waſhereth the Land of Chavilah *fertile in Gold.*

the extremity of the *Perſian* Gulf. Add to that the Teſtimony of the Heathen Authors, who ſet in the ſame place the People called *Chavlaſians*, and *Chavlotheans*, (names undoubtedly derived from *Chavilah*.) All the marks given us by *Moſes*, that we might know *Chavilah*, do exactly fit the Land I ſpeak of. *There is gold there, and the gold of that Land is good*, as *David* and *Ezekiel* do teſtifie, and as it may be concluded from the Gifts the *Wiſe men* brought to our Saviour.

Pſal. 72. 10, 15. Ezek. 27. 20, & ſeq.

In Pearls and Bdellium, *in* Onyx, *and in all ſorts of precious Stones.*

VI. *There is Bdellium*; whether be meant Pearls by that word, as it is in the Hebrew, or an Aromatical Gum. The greateſt fiſhing of Pearls that is in the World, is made near the Iſland of *Babaren*, which lies in the *Perſian* Gulf, near the Coaſt of *Chavilah*, and to which the *Phiſon* leadeth. The ancient and modern Authors ſpeak of thoſe Pearls, as going beyond all the Pearls in the World; and even all that Coaſt, from *Maſcate* to *Catif*, is abounding in Pearls. *Arabia* was no leſs abounding in *Bdellium*, a ſort of precious Gum, called now *Anime*; *and in Onyx ſtones*, which as *Pliny* ſays, were only found in the

Plin. l. 36. c. 7.

the Mountains of *Arabia*. Beſides the Countries about the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, being then the richeſt and moſt populous in the World; and Commodities being brought thither from all parts, thoſe of *Arabia* ſo neceſſary for Luxury and Pléaſures were not left out, and the Province of *Chavilah* lying on the way, and being a neceſſary paſſage, there muſt have been there alſo abundance of all precious Stones and Spices of *Arabia*.

VII. In following *Moſes*'s order, after having gone over the weſterly Chanel, through which the *Tigris* and *Euphrates* joined together run into the Sea, one meets with the eaſterly-Chanel, which muſt needs be the *Gehon*, *The ſame is it that compaſſeth the whole Land of* Chus, that is to ſay, *Suſiana*, which ſtill retains that old name, and is called now a-days *Chuzeſtan*, being the ſame that the Scripture calls elſewhere *Cutha*, according to the variety of Dialects. From that name *Chus* have been derived the names of the *Ceſſeans*, and *Ciſſians*, Inhabitants of *Suſiana*, mentioned by prophane Authors. And this gave them occaſion to

The ſecond River is the Gehon, *which waters the Land of* Chus.

4 Reg. 17. 24.

to ſay, that the Mother of *Memnon*, a Prince of *Suſiana*, was a *Ciſſian*.

The third is the Tigris *which goeth towards* Aſſyria.

VIII. *The name of the third River* Chiddekel, *which goeth towards* Aſſyria, is the *Tigris*. The name it ſelf ſheweth it, for taking away the firſt letter of *Chiddekel*, which is but an Aſpiration, it remains *Dekel*, out of which have been formed the names of *Diklat*, *Diglath*, *Degil*, *Degela*, *Diglito*, and *Tigris*. If from the place where I ſet the Earthly Paradiſe, one might ſee the diſpoſition of the Chanel of that River, it might be obſerved, that it really runneth towards the old *Aſſyria*, whereof the chief Town was *Ninive*. And in fine *the fourth River is the* Euphrates, which kept its name till now.

All the tokens whereby Moſes *marked the Situation of Paradiſe, can be applied to none, but to that which I propoſed.*

IX. If we examine without prejudice all thoſe Characters, wherewith *Moſes* marked the Situation of the Earthly Paradiſe, we ſhall not only find that they exactly agree with that which I do propoſe, but alſo that they can fit no other, neither thoſe that have been imagined hitherto in a very great number, nor thoſe that can be

be hereafter imagined. For there are no other Provinces of *Chavilah* and *Chus* beſides thoſe that I marked, where a *Phiſon* and *Gehon* can be found: There is no other *Tigris* that goeth towards *Aſſyria*: There is no other *Euphrates*, which may be ſaid to be one of the four heads into which was divided the River that watered the Earthly Paradiſe: And finally there is no other place beſides that in which I ſet Paradiſe, that is watered by a River divided into theſe four Rivers juſt now mentioned.

X. It remains that pious Souls ought not to be offended at the Novelty of this opinion, ſo different from what the Fathers believed. I ſhewed from the very beginning of this Treatiſe, that they themſelves are divided into a great many divers opinions, and that there is neither amongſt them, nor in the Church any Uniformity of Doctrine or Tradition upon this Subject. And after all * St. *Auſtin* declares, that the queſtion concerning the Situation of the Earthly Paradiſe,

The queſtion about the Situation of the Earthly Paradiſe doth not concern Faith.

* Auguſt. de peccat. Orig contra Pelag. & Cœleſt. l. 2. c. 23.

diſe, belongeth not at all to the Faith by which we are made Chriſtians, and the true or falſe ſide may be held thereupon, without any danger of Hereſie.

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